Rahm Storms Chicago The Republican Obama should worry about BY JOE KLEIN Can you truly be addicted to sex? THE CULTURE
An audience
with Colin Firth,
chatterbox

## TIME

# THE GENERATION CHANGING THE WORLD

Why they're making history By Fareed Zakaria

What they want from democracy By Bobby Ghosh



## A GENUINE LEADER IS NOT A SEARCHER FOR CONSENSUS BUT A MOLDER OF CONSENSUS

- MARTIN LUTHER KING, IR.



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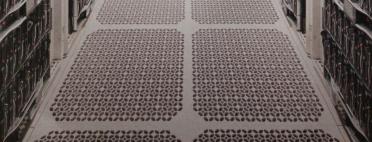
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MacKay for TIME

Photograph by Finlay

budget



In it to win it Chicago mayoral candidate Rahm Emanuel, with a supportive message from his children. Photograph by Callie Shell-Aurora for TIME

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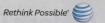
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#### Changes **All Around**



The desire for freedom may well be universal, but what people mean by it is very particular. The young people who are transforming the Middle East yearn for de-

mocracy, even if at times they can't quite say what it is. Fareed Zakaria's cover essay cites two powerful reasons the youth of the Middle East are an engine of historical change: demographics and technology. In the region, more than half the people are under 30, and they can communicate with one another. Bobby Ghosh's accompanying story explores who these youths are and brings them alive, thanks to our reporters and photographers in Egypt, Tunisia, Iran and elsewhere, who have been following the revolutions for the past month. Watch Fareed discuss his piece on his Sunday CNN show. Fareed Zakaria GPS.

If you think this issue of TIME looks a bit different, you're right. We've tweaked the front of the magazine, adding an Economy page and a photo spread; moved 10 Questions to the back page; and created one large section called The Culture, which combines the old Life and Arts sections. The design evolution was led by executive editor Nancy Gibbs, along with assistant managing editor Radhika Jones and our design director, D.W. Pine. They did a beautiful job, but you're the judge. Let us know what you think at time.com/feedback

Finally, on Feb. 11, Jodi Bieber won the World Press Photo of the Year award for her haunting picture of Aisha, a young woman whose face was disfigured by the Taliban. The portrait was commissioned by TIME and ran on the cover in August. We're proud that Jodi won the award and are

relieved to say Aisha is in the U.S. and

doing well. More about her soon.

Richard Stenael, MANAGING EDITOR

#### THE CONVERSATION

LEV GROSSMAN'S FEB. 21 COVER story on the Singularity, a moment of technological advancement that will bring about the merging of humans with machines, drew frenetic buzzing among TIME readers. The piece, which describes a near future dominated by artificial intelligence, prompted more than 22,000 "likes" on Facebook and more than 2,000 retweets on Twitter. Some readers. anxious about the implications, found solace in the classics; in a defense of humanity, one commenter cited Hamlet: "What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty!" Others turned to lighter fare. A TIME.com NewsFeed item on an iPhone app for confession drew some of the highest traffic of the week.





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Dead Sey Kittens-Farewell to Three Icons of Movie Eroticism

Photo Essay: Amazing Photos of the Sun

NewsFeed: Did a Texas Beauty Queen Lose

Her Crown for Being Too Fat? How the U.S. Plans to Aid Democracy

In Egypt

NewsFeed: Behind the Super Bowl Spin: The Depressing. Dangerous Stories of

## Inbox

#### Of Humans and Humanity

THE SINGULARITY MOVEMENT FAILS TO address the question, Why should man live forever? [Feb. 21]. For a "science" that is so interdisciplinary, it is oblivious to the laws of nature. Humans may well simply die off. The more pressing question is, When? By the time Raymond Kurzweil's little utopia comes to fruition, man may have already destroyed its habitat. Perhaps some of that genius capital might be better invested in saving the planet.

James A. Zaremski, MOUNT LAUREL, N.J.

YOUR COVER BOASTS A WONDERFUL article—but it is 2011, and you still refer to humankind as "man." Raymond Kurzweil and Lev Grossman properly use the inclusive word human in the article. The cover should have done the same. Linda L. Kramer, WINNETKA, ILL.

THE GOALS OF BIOLOGIST AUBREY DE Grey and technologist Raymond Kurzweil made me anxious. Transferring our minds to sturdier computer vessels, as

Kurzweil suggests, singles out the brain as the most important part of a human being. Should we give up our emotions, our spirits, in the effort to preserve our selves? That's not a handoff I'm comfortable with.

Andrea Cronin, MEDFIELD, MASS.

MY PROBLEM WITH GROSSMAN'S ARTICLE is not the exponential technological theories of Kurzweil but the implications such theories have for the population of Earth. The planet is already in dire need of new, sustainable systems, a need that is only slowly and very recently being addressed. If technology develops at an exponential rate vet our development of sustainable agricultural and environmental practices lags behind, where will Earth be in 2045? Stuart Smith, NEW YORK CITY

PLEASE HOLD OFF ON THIS SINGULARITY thing until I'm in my grave (also, dead). I've come to love my life with all its follies, imperfections, mistakes and accomplishments. Why would I give my brain or body up to a computer to do what I've come to do well? What is left for us to do, in the midst of Singularity, except to pose a danger to our idle selves? Elena van Lieshout, FLOSSMOOR, ILL.

### ADVAIR DISKUS TOTAL

(fluticasone propionate 100 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

ADVAIR DISKUS is for the treatment of asthma in patients 4 years and older. ADVAIR should be used only if your healthcare provider decides that your asthma is not well controlled with a long-term asthma control medicine, such as an inhaled corticosteroid.

#### **Important Safety Information About ADVAIR DISKUS for Asthma**

- . People with asthma who take long-acting beta,-adrenergic agonist (LABA) medicines, such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR DISKUS), have an increased risk of death from asthma problems. It is not known whether fluticasone propionate, the other medicine in ADVAIR DISKUS, reduces the risk of death from asthma problems seen with salmeterol.
  - Call your healthcare provider if breathing problems worsen over time while using ADVAIR. You may need different treatment
  - Get emergency medical care if breathing problems worsen quickly and you use your rescue inhaler medicine, but it does not relieve your breathing problems.
- . ADVAIR should be used only if your healthcare provider decides that your asthma is not well controlled with a long-term asthma control medicine, such as an inhaled corticosteroid.
- . When your asthma is well controlled, your healthcare provider may tell you to stop taking ADVAIR. Your healthcare provider will decide if you can stop ADVAIR without loss of asthma control. Your healthcare provider may prescribe a different asthma control medicine for you, such as an inhaled corticosteroid.
- . Children and adolescents with asthma who take LABA medicines may have an increased risk of hospitalization for asthma problems.
- . Do not use ADVAIR to treat sudden, severe symptoms of asthma. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms.
- . Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS if you have severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure. Do not use ADVAIR more often than prescribed. Do not take ADVAIR with other medicines that contain a LABA for any reason. Tell your doctor about medicines you take and about all of your medical conditions.
- . ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including:
- serious allergic reactions. Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction: rash;
- hives; swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue; breathing problems. - sudden breathing problems immediately after inhaling your medicine
- effects on heart; increased blood pressure; a fast and irregular heartbeat; chest pain
- effects on nervous system: tremor; nervousness
- reduced adrenal function (may result in loss of energy) - changes in blood (sugar, potassium, certain types of white blood cells)
- weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections. You should
- avoid exposure to chickenpox and measles, and, if exposed, consult your healthcare provider without delay. Worsening of existing tuberculosis, fungal, bacterial, viral, or parasitic infections, or ocular herpes simplex may occur,
- lower bone mineral density. This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).
- eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts. You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR.
- slowed growth in children. A child's growth should be checked often.
- . Common side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS include upper respiratory tract infection, throat irritation, hoarseness and voice changes, thrush in the mouth and throat, bronchitis, cough, headache, nausea, and vomiting. In children with asthma, infections in the ear, nose, and throat are common.

Please see summary of Important Safety Information about ADVAIR DISKUS on next page.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Get your first full prescription FREE.\* Visit ADVAIR.com



Did you know asthma has two main causes?

> Airway constriction and inflammation.

**ADVAIR** treats both of them.

> Which helps prevent symptoms from occurring in the first place.

ADVAIR is not for, and should not be used to treat, sudden. severe symptoms of asthma. It won't replace a rescue inhaler.





#### ADVAIR DISKUS®

BRIEF (fluticasone propionate and SUMMARY salmeterol inhalation powder)

This summary does not take the place of talking to your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment. See full Prescribing Information for complete product information

#### What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects, including: 1. People with asthma who take long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>adrenergic agonist (LABA) medicines, such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR DISKUS). have an increased risk of death from asthma problems. It is not known whether fluticasone propionate. the other medicine in ADVAIR DISKUS, reduces the risk of

death from asthma problems seen with salmeterol. · Call your healthcare provider if breathing problems worsen over time while using ADVAIR DISKUS. You

may need different treatment. · Get emergency medical care if:

- you use your rescue inhaler medicine, but it does not relieve your breathing problems. 2. ADVAIR DISKUS should be used only if your healthcare

provider decides that your asthma is not well controlled with a long-term asthma control medicine, such as inhaled corticosteroids. 3. When your asthma is well controlled, your healthcare

provider may tell you to stop taking ADVAIR DISKUS. Your healthcare provider will decide if you can stop ADVAIR DISKUS without loss of asthma control. Your healthcare provider may prescribe a different asthma control medicine for you, such as an inhaled corticosteroid.

4. Children and adolescents who take LABA medicines may have an increased risk of being hospitalized for asthma problems.

#### What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

· ADVAIR DISKUS combines an inhaled corticosteroid medicine, fluticasone propionate (the same medicine found in FLOVENT®), and a LABA medicine, salmeterol (the same medicine found in SEREVENT®

- Inhaled corticosteroids help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms.

- LABA medicines are used in people with asthma and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). LABA medicines help the muscles around the airways in your lungs stay relaxed to prevent symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles around the airways tighten. This makes it hard to breathe. In severe cases, wheezing can stop your breathing and cause death if not treated right away.

· ADVAIR DISKUS is used for asthma and COPD as follows: Asthma ADVAIR DISKUS is used to control symptoms of asthma

and to prevent symptoms such as wheezing in adults and children aged 4 years and older. ADVAIR DISKUS contains salmeterol (the same medicine

found in SEREVENT). LABA medicines, such as salmeterol, increase the risk of death from asthma problems ADVAIR DISKUS is not for adults and children with asthma

who are well controlled with an asthma control medicine, such as a low to medium dose of an inhaled COPD

COPD is a chronic lung disease that includes chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both, ADVAIRDISKUS 250/50 is used long term, 2 times each day to help improve lung function for better breathing in adults with COPD. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 has been shown to decrease the number of flare-ups and worsening of COPD symptoms (exacerbations).

#### Who should not use ADVAIR DISKUS? Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS:

. to treat sudden, severe symptoms of asthma or COPD

. if you have a severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure

What should I tell my healthcare provider before using ADVAIR DISKUS?

Tell your healthcare provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

· have heart problems · have high blood pressure

· have seizures · have thyroid problems have diabetes · have liver problems

 have osteoporosis · have an immune system problem

· are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS may harm your unborn baby.

· are breastfeeding. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby · are allergic to any of the ingredients in ADVAIR

DISKUS, any other medicines, or food products · are exposed to chickenpox or measles Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you

take including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. ADVAIR DISKUS and certain other medicines may interact with each other. This may cause serious side effects. Especially, tell your healthcare provider if you take ritonavir. The anti-HIV medicines NORVIR® (ritonavir capsules) Soft Gelatin, NORVIR (ritonavir oral solution), and KALETRA® (lopinavir) ritonavir) Tablets contain ritonavir.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

#### How do I use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS unless your healthcare provider has taught you and you understand everything. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if you have any questions.

. Children should use ADVAIR DISKUS with an adult's help, as instructed by the child's healthcare provider Use ADVAIR DISKUS exactly as prescribed. Do not use

ADVAIR DISKUS more often than prescribed. ADVAIR DISKUS comes in 3 strengths. Your healthcare provider has prescribed the one that is best for your condition. . The usual dosage of ADVAIR DISKUS is 1 inhalation

2 times each day (morning and evening). The 2 doses should be about 12 hours apart. Rinse your mouth with water after using ADVAIR DISKUS.

. If you take more ADVAIR DISKUS than your doctor has prescribed, get medical help right away if you have any unusual symptoms, such as worsening shortness of breath, chest pain, increased heart rate, or shakiness

. If you miss a dose of ADVAIR DISKUS, just skip that dose Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take 2 doses at one time

. Do not use a spacer device with ADVAIR DISKUS. . Do not breathe into ADVAIR DISKUS.

. While you are using ADVAIR DISKUS 2 times each day, do not use other medicines that contain a LABA for

any reason. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if any of your other medicines are LABA medicines. . Do not stop using ADVAIR DISKUS or other asthma medicines unless told to do so by your healthcare provider

because your symptoms might get worse. Your healthcare provider will change your medicines as needed

· ADVAIR DISKUS does not relieve sudden symptoms. Always have a rescue inhaler medicine with you to treat sudden symptoms. If you do not have an inhaled, shortacting bronchodilator, call your healthcare provider to have one prescribed for you

#### Call your healthcare provider or get medical care right away if: · your breathing problems worsen with ADVAIR DISKUS

. you need to use your rescue inhaler medicine more often

· your rescue inhaler medicine does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms

· you need to use 4 or more inhalations of your rescue inhaler medicine for 2 or more days in a row

. you use 1 whole canister of your rescue inhaler medicine in 8 weeks' time

. your peak flow meter results decrease. Your healthcare provider will tell you the numbers that are right for you. · you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after

#### What are the possible side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS? . ADVAIR DISKUS can cause serious side effects.

using ADVAIR DISKUS regularly for 1 week

including: . See "What is the most important information I should

know about ADVAIR DISKUS?" · serious allergic reactions. Call your healthcare provider

or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction: - rash - hives

- swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue - breathing problems · sudden breathing problems immediately after inhaling

your medicine · effects on heart - increased blood pressure

- a fast and irregular heartbeat - chest pain · effects on nervous system

- tremor nervousness

· reduced adrenal function (may result in loss of energy) . changes in blood (sugar, potassium, certain types of white blood cells)

· weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections . lower bone mineral density. This may be a problem

for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis · eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts. You

should have regular eve exams while using ADVAIR DISKUS. . slowed growth in children. A child's growth should be checked often

. pneumonia. People with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR DISKUS may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. Call your healthcare provider if you notice any of the following symptoms: increase in mucus (sputum) production

- change in mucus color - fever - chills

- increased cough Common side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS include:

Asthma: COPO: . thrush in the mouth and · upper respiratory tract

throat infection throat irritation · throat irritation hoarseness and voice · hoarseness and voice

changes changes . thrush in the mouth and viral respiratory infections throat

· headache · bronchitis · muscle and bone pain · cough

· headache · nausea and vomiting

In children with asthma, infections in the ear, nose, and

throat are common. Tell your healthcare provider about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS, Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for additional information about ADVAIR DISKUS. You can also contact the company that makes ADVAIR DISKUS (toll free) at 1-888-825-5249 or at www.advair.com.

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GlaxoSmithKline Research Triangle Park, NC 27709 ADD:7MG January 2011

### Inbox

#### **New Revolutionaries**

RE "REVOLUTION, DELAYED" [FEB. 21]: The developments in Egypt have been riveting to watch. America should certainly lend support but should not try to orchestrate the outcome. We have done this in the past, and the results eventually came back to bite us. Best of luck to these brave Egyptians.

Mike McDonald, ST. PAUL, MINN.

AS HEAD OF A LEADING MUSLIM YOUTH organization in America, I appeal to the Muslim youth of Egypt to walk to the beat of their own drum but also learn from the youthful American revolutionaries of two centuries ago-for they wrote the most successful composition in modern history. I encourage Egypt's youth to establish justice and equality for all their citizens as they write their own magnum opus.

Rizwan Alladin, Ahmadiyya Muslim Youth Association U.S.A., SILVER SPRING, MD.

#### Chanel No. Stein

I WAS VERY MUCH ENTERTAINED BY JOEL Stein's "Scent of a Nerd" [Feb. 21] and his effort to identify a fragrance befitting a writer. Who needs Fabulosity when you've got Snarky?

Ana-Claudia Magana, LOS ANGELES

#### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

> In a caption accompanying "Rawhide Revealed," we misstated Ronald Reagan's job in 1980 [Feb. 14]. He was a presidential candidate, not governor of California, a post he left in 1975.

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TRADITION MEETS INNOVATION AT

## **Briefing**

POLITICS

'The legislative agenda of Barack Obama is over.'

MITCH MCCONNELL, SENATE MINORITY LEADER, addressing fellow Republicans in his home state of Kentucky

TECHNOLOGY

'I'm actually sort of representing 7 billion human beings against our new machine tyrants.'

KEN JENNINGS, JEOPARDY! CHAMPION,
on in a two-match Jeopardy! tournament



NED PONZI SCHEMER, complicit" in his fraudulent activities

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SECRETARY OF STATE, stressing omoting Internet-freedom initiatives, ple repressive regimes

troyed my family.'
ferring to the popular kids' television series
ughter Miley Cyrus to stardom





34

Years since a painter or sculptor was last awarded a Presidential Medal of Freedom; artist Jasper Johns received the honor on Feb. 15



Approximate percentage of its bookstores that Borders Group intends to close following its Chapter 11 bankruptcy filing

26

Number of fingers and toes 16-month-old Le Yatl Min was born with; her family is applying for a Guinness World Record



E349,250

Price fetched at auction for 100,000 of artist Ai Welwel's hand-painted porcelain "Sunflower Seeds"

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## **Briefing**

'The legislative agenda

MITCH MCCONNELL, SENATE MINORITY LEADER, addressing fellow Republicans in his home state of Kentucky

#### TECHNOLOGY

'I'm actually sort of representing 7 billion human beings against our new machine tyrants.'

KEN JENNINGS, JEOPARDY' CHAMPION. on competing against a computer named Watson in a two-match Jeopardu! tournament

'They had to know.'

BERNIE MADOFF, IMPRISONED PONZI SCHEMER, insisting that banks and hedge funds were "complicit" in his fraudulent activities

#### INTERNET

'People have a view that technology will make us free. No, people will make us free.'

MICHAEL POSNER, A U.S. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, Stressing that while the Obama Administration is promoting Internet-freedom initiatives, technology alone cannot topple repressive regimes

#### CELEBRITY

'The damn show destroyed

BILLY RAY CYRUS, MUSICIAN AND ACTOR, referring to the popular kids' television series

Hannah Montana, which catapulted daughter Miley Cyrus to stardom





Years since a painter or sculptor was last awarded a Presidential Medal of Freedom; artist Jasper Johns received the honor on Feb. 15



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for 100,000 of artist Al Welwel's hand-painted porcelain "Sunflower Seeds"





## World



Protesters set fire to a garbage can in Tehran during antigovernment demonstrations on Feb. 14

#### Inspired by Egypt, Protests Rock Tehran

IRAN On Feb. 11, Iran's government celebrated the 32nd anniversary of the country's Islamic revolution with an organized rally in Tehran's Freedom Square. While shouting slogans in support of Iran's controversial President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, many waved Egyptian flags in solidarity with the popular uprising against Egypt's U.S. backed dictator, Hosni Mubarak. Just three days later, with Mubarak ousted, Egypt cast a far more troublesome pall over Ahmadinejad's regime. Using the type of socialmedia coordination seen in recent protests against dictatorships in Egypt out then, with at least two known deaths. Some Iranian parliamentarians even called for the execution of the protest's organizers.

#### **Immigrants Swamp a** Mediterranean Islet

ITALY More than 5,000 people fleeing Tunisia have reached Lampedusa, a scrub-covered isle that is part of Italy and is just 70 miles (110 km) from the North African coast. The exodus followed the Jan. 14 toppling of Tunisian dictator Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, who had previously clamped down on illegal emigration to Europe. Tunisia rebuffed an Italian offer to deploy troops to patrol its borders. Aid groups warned of a "humanitarian emergency" on Lampedusa; Rome has asked the European Union for assistance.



#### and Tunisia, thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators marched through the streets of Tehran and a number of other Iranian cities in a revival of the mass antigovernment protests that captured the world's attention in 2009. But they suffered the same kind of brutal crackdown that had been meted Tunisians in Lampedusa line up for transfer to immigration centers 10.000 World by the KYRGYZSTAN Number of stray dogs Numbers to be culled in the Central Asian state because shelters proved too costly 113 7%-JAPAN Age U.S. Rate of of a law. Chicago's past decade broader trend 46 a Thai counte \$3 billion the ruling. The case COLOMBIA Estimated investment by lasted 17 years. Day, breaking a would create a second link between

#### Chevron Responsible For Amazon Damage

ECUADOR A ludge ordered Chevron. the second largest oil company in the U.S., to pay at least \$8.6 billion in damages after it was found responsible for polluting stretches of the Ecuadoran jungle. While appeals are expected from both Chevron and Amazonian tribes who believe the award was not large enough, it is still one of the largest punitive judgments ever issued for causing environmental harm. Texaco, which Chevron acquired in 2001, allegedly dumped 18 billion gal. (68 billion L) of toxic wastewater and spilled 17 million gal. (64 million L) of crude oil that caused an estimated \$27 billion in damages over three decades and triggered health problems like cancer and skin disease, Chevron could be ordered to pay double the amount awarded if II does not publicly apologize for Its actions within 15 days of the Feb. 14 verdict. Legal experts, however, suspect that Ecuador will be unable to force the company to pay up. and Chevron says it won't abide by

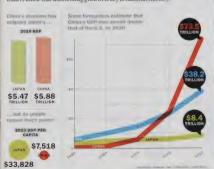


#### Shi'ite Rage

BAHRAIN Days of violence convulsed the capital, Manama. as thousands in the predominantly Shi'ite island kingdom vented their frustration at its Sunni royal family over what protesters say is a discriminatory and repressive state. The government has promised reforms: n diverse coalition of opposition groups has promised to continue with demonstrations.

#### Now No. 2, Could China Become No. 1?

CHINA The world's most populous nation officially became its second largest economy after Japan released its final GDP figures for 2010, showing a fourthquarter dip in growth that left it lagging behind its East Asian neighbor for the first time in the postwar era. China's ascension to the second spot behind the U.S. comes after decades of rapid growth that has lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. But the same fiscal woes that hobbled Japan's once soaring economy in the 1990s may catch up to China, which uses a similar model of state capitalism: China may also be vulnerable to the sort of asset bubbles that derailed Japan, Ruling a vast population with few political freedoms, China's leaders know that unrelenting growth is key to national stability.



#### Throwing a Curveball at The Iraq War

**GERMANY Rafid** Ahmed Alwan al-Janabi, the Iraqi defector codenamed Curveball by the CIA, confirmed In an interview with the U.K.'s Guardian that he lied about the existence of a secret biologicalweapons program In Iraq to instigate regime change. The false information the chemical engineer gave intelligence officials in Germany-where he fled in 1995-found its way into a Feb. 5, 2003, speech to the U.N. by then U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, which detailed mobile bloweapons labs and covert factories that produced WMD. Those falsehoods buttressed the U.S.'s case for Invading Iraq the

next month.

#### **Palestinian Cabinet** Steps Down

WEST BANK Reverberations from Cairo's Tahrir Square reached Ramallah when Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas announced a wholesale Cabinet reshuffle and called for new elections by September, His administration has been in an uncomfortable spot since last month, when internal documents revealed by al-Jazeera English appeared to show a gap between the positions Abbas was taking publicly and offers made behind closed doors to the Israelis, But Hamas, which rules Gaza while Abbas' Fatah movement controls the West Bank, immediately rejected the idea of holding new elections before the rival movements have been reconciled.



and Panaviota Bertzikis say U.S. Coast Guard superiors



#### **The Big Questions** By Mark Halperin

Are congressional Republicans really prepared to make massive budget cuts? They claim they are, and now they have the chance to prove it. From chopping spending for the current fiscal year to writing a GOP budget for the next one. Republicans must deliver the kind of deep reductions they say were negligently absent from President Obama's proposal.

#### What role are Tea Partyers and deficit hawks playing? House Speaker John Boehner and other GOP leaders have already shown that they underestimated the

appetite for cuts among conservative new members and have accepted tens of billions of dollars in added proposed savings to placate them. More cuts are promised for later this year. But Boehner and company also worry about the wrath of moderate voters and constituents who will lose federal largesse.

So what happens next? Republicans feel they have a mandate for deep spending cuts overall, but they lack specifics on what to slash and are still testing what's politically feasible. Other minefields include intraparty divisions over whether to touch the defense budget, Tea Party intransigence on a looming vote to raise the federal debt ceiling and the threat of a government shutdown if a budget deal can't be reached with the White House, Boehner and Republican Senate leader Mitch McConnell are cool customers, but the coming budget battles of 2011 will keep them on their toes.

#### Obama's Sidestep

WASHINGTON President Obama said in January that taming the federal budget deficit requires tackling the rising costs of programs like Social Security and Medicare. So why does his 2012 budget proposal, released Feb. 14, ignore reforming them? House Republican leaders labeled Obama's decision a "punt" and said he'd pay a price with voters who identified the budget as a top priority last November

In reality, Obama had an easy call. Americans agree the deficit is a major problem-70% said so in a December Pew surveybut few support measures to address it. Most deficitreduction steps rack up 52%-to-72% disapproval rates. The independent voters Obama needs in 2012 are wary of entitlement cuts, and the Pew poll showed more capital leading the charge.



#### Who voters trust on the deficit issue

GOP CONGRESS







#### Service Members Sue Pentagon over Rapes The stereotypes exist because

they're true: the U.S. military pays too much for weapons, fumbles postwar planning and can't protect its people from sexual predators within the ranks. That third maxim surfaced again Feb. 15, when 15 women and two men filed a federal suit against the Pentagon. as well as Defense Secretary Robert Gates and former Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, for failing to prevent and punish sexual abuse by fellow service members. The plaintiffs allege that reports of rape or other forms of abuse are often ignored or mishandled and that troops "openly mocked and flouted" the weak protections currently on the books. Offenders are rarely punished, even when wrongdoing has been proved, and in many cases continue to serve alongside their accusers. Advocates urge a new system of handling abuse allegations that would allow victims to go outside the chain of command and report incidents to an independent party. A Pentagon spokesman said the issue "is now a command priority, but we clearly still have more work to do." It's not the first time the military has promised to do better. The record suggests it won't be the last.

-MARK THOMPSON





Options shown 'Headphones are for passenger use only. Do not use while operating vehicle: 'Leatherette third-row seat

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## **Economy**

#### Food Fights. Rising global grocery bills are hitting the poor and causing political unrest

It's a historical truth that when food prices rise, conflict increases. So it's no wonder that the spike in the cost of agricultural commodities in recent months has been a contributing factor to revolution in the Middle East. As the map below shows, people in relatively poor countries-including Egypt, Tunisia and others in the developing world—spend a much higher percentage of their incomes on food. But food inflation is affecting Americans too. In the U.S., the poor spend 16% of their income on groceries vs. the rich, who spend 11%. What's more, if food inflation cuts into emerging-market growth, as many economists expect, U.S. companies that export to those markets will suffer-and so will the people who work for them. - RANA FOROGHAR



#### CRASH TEST

Bond Blues, State budgets are on the verge of a blowup

When Meredith Whitney, the financial analyst who predicted the banking meltdown, speaks, ears perk up. Her latest proclamation: Thanks to unfunded pension liabilities and declining tax revenues, 50 to 100 states and cities or other municipalities will soon default on loans totaling hundreds of billions of dollars. Nervous investors are already fleeing municipal bonds, which have long been considered a safe haven. Since early November, according to Lipper, individuals

have pulled \$23.6 billion out of muni-bond funds.

Like so many economic trends, this one will be bifurcated. While states with high unemployment and low growth like Michigan are in danger, others like lowa and Virginia are poised to do better. Since 1970. there have been 55 muni defaults on rated bonds, according to Moody's. Whitney predicts nearly twice as many this year alone. That's not a black swan. That's a flock. - SEAN GREGORY



Billions of dollars out of muni funds



Drop in local-go tax revenue in 2010

(Jan.-Sept. 2010)

#### VERBATIM

'China saves and exports. Europe consumes The U.S. borrows and consumes. Is model? Probably not.' - Christine

Lagarde, the

## **Health&Science**



#### Walk with Me. New fossil evidence confirms that Lucy and her kin strolled like modern man

THE ABILITY TO STAND UPRIGHT AND STRIPE ON TWO FEET WAS A Critical milestone in setting the human species apart from our ape ancestors. Paleoanthropologists say it's what eventually allowed humans to develop bigger brains, and it likely took a while to evolve. Based on the fossil evidence, researchers have long suspected Australopithecus afarensis, the species whose most famous member is 3.2-million-year-old Lucy, was among the first to spend the majority of its day on two feet. Problem is, Lucy's skeleton is missing key foot bones, which left researchers to debate how much time Lucy spent upright—most of the time, like us, or only periodically, like the apes?

Now scientists report they have found a crucial clue: a fourth metatarsal, one of the long bones connecting the toes to the ankle, from one of Lucy's contemporaries. That fossil speaks volumes about how we evolved. The bone shows signs of an arch, both from front to back and from side to side, which suggests that A. afarensis's foot could absorb shock and bear the weight of an animal that stood upright for long periods. It is strong and stiffer than those found in most apes' flexible, handlike feet, which not only splay flat on the ground but can also curl around branches—the better to sustain a tree-based existence. Being fully upright likely gave Lucy and her ilk an advantage over other hominids some 3 million years ago, particularly as the cooling planet caused the dense, lush forests of eastern Africa to give way to grasslands, where walking—and running—would have been more useful than climbing.

#### COMMON COLD

#### New Study Shows Zinc Helps Sniffles

Consumers spend billions of dollars a year on remedies like zinc to fend off impending coldswith no solid scientific evidence that they work. But now an updated review of studies on the effects of zinc finds that the mineral may prevent some sneezes and sniffles, as long as you take it within 24 hours of the first signs of a cold. The review of 15 trials, involving more than 1,360 people who were randomly assigned to take zinc lozenges. syrups or placebos. suggests that zinc cut the duration of colds by about a day and reduced the severity of symptoms by 40%. What's more. children who took zinc protectively for five months or longer caught fewer colds and had fewer sick days than kids who didn't take zinc. They were also less likely to use antibiotics to try to battle the coldcausing rhinovirussomething that could help in controlling antibiotic resistance. More trials are needed to detail proper dosing, but in the meantime, it seems that zinc may no longer be just for slathering on noses in the summer.



#### EXERCISE

#### To Stretch Or Not to Stretch?

the prerun stretch is a sacred routine that's supposed to lengthen muscles and reduce the risk of injury during the pounding to come. But in the first study of runners randomly told either to stretch for three to five minutes before running or to skip the routine altogether. researchers found little difference in injury rates over three months. The good news for those who still like a good stretch before working out: it doesn't appear to increase injuries either.

VITAL SIGNS

71%
Percentage of recalled medical devices that had been strated U.S. EDA

medical devices that had been granted U.S. FDA approval under an expedited review process for new products that are similar to existing, already tested and approved ones





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## **Milestones**



#### Betty Garrett

The pretty actresses get the hero; the smart, funny ones steal the show. For more than 70 years, Betty Garrett, who died Feb. 12 at 91, was a singing, dancing, comedic bolt of energy. Lending a lilt to sarcastic dames, she turned the battle of the sexes into a multimedia art form.

Born in St. Joseph, Mo., Garrett hit Broadway as a teen and in the war years belted out Cole Porter and Vernon Dukes ongs before signing with MGM. In 1949 alone, she was Frank Sinatra's romantic pursuer in Take Me Out to the Ball Game and the seminal On the Town, and all but assaulted Red Skelton while jos singing "Baby. It's Cold Outside" in Neptune's Daughter. On TV in the 'Jos she was Archie Bunker's lippy liberal neighbor on Allim the Family and the wise, skeptical landlady on Lawerne & Shirley, In 2003 she earned an Emmy nomination as Tel Danson's senior stalker on Becker.

Offscreen, Garrett was a one-guy gal, the wife of Jolson Story star Larry Parks from 1944 until his death in 1975. For having joined the Communist Party, he was blacklisted; she was briefly graylisted. But no one could long suppress Garrett's sunny verve, the saucy spin she gave to a line or a lyric.

In the 1955 film My Sister Eileen, she lands her dreamboat, Jack Lemmon, who tells her. "It hink you're funny ... wonderful ... beautiful." Generations of Betty Garrett fans would second that tribute. — RICHARD CORLISS

#### Retired

#### For a few glorious, goalfilled years, Ronaldo was the greatest soccer player on the planet. The Brazilian bowed out of the game Feb. 14, at 34, succumbing finally to years of damage that the sport had inflicted on his body. At his peak, Ronaldo was a force of nature-dubbed by fans simply as the Phenomenon. He had lightning-quick feet and an ability to buildoze past Ronaldo scored more than 300 goals for some of Europe's most storied clubs, won two World Cups with Brazil and is one of only two players to be named FIFA's Player of the Year three times—the last in 2002. While salaclous scandals followed him off the pitch a number of times, they can't overshadow his legacy as one of soccer's most



Silvio Berlusconi
An Italian judge ordered

Berlusconi to stand trial April 6 on charges that he paid an underage girl for sex and then abused the powers of his office by helping release her from police custody. While Berlusconi's center-right coalition stood by the Prime Minister, his support among Italians continued to fall. On Feb. 13, hundreds of thousands of protesters, primarily women. marched against the Premier, who has re fused to resign. The Ital ian leader, 74, allegedly paid for sex with Karima El Mahroug, a then 17-year-old nightclub dancer. Prosecutors say she was later detained for theft but was released after police received a call from Berlusconi.



irrepressible talents.

-ISHAAN THAROOR

WANTED
A Pakistani court
issued an arrest
warrant for former
President Pervez
Musharraf in
connection with the
2007 assassination
of political rival
Benazir Bhutto.

RETIRED
Seven-time Tour
de France winner
Lance Armstrong
again announced
his retirement.

UNVEILED
Boeing debuted
its new 747-8
intercontinental
jumbo jet, a quieter
and more fuelefficient aircraft; it
can hold 467
passengers and is
250 ft. (76 m) long.

MERGING
The New York Stock
Exchange and
Germany's Deutsche
Borse announced
plans to merge,
which, if approved,
would create the
world's langest
trading group.

Actress Elizabeth
Taylor was taken to
a Los Angeles
hospital to receive
treatment for a
heart problem. The
78-year-old's health
was said to be

steadily improving.

RETIRING
Senator Jon Kyl,
Republican of
Arizona, announced
he would not run for
re-election in 2012.
Kyl, currently in his
third term, is the
No. 2 Republican in

the Senate.

Nenneth Mars, known for his roles as a Nazi playwright in Mel Brooks' The Producers and a police inspector in Young Frankenstein, died at 75.

-- IOSH SANBURN

## Rana Foroohar



#### Your Incredible Shrinking Paycheck

The recession is over, but its legacy of falling wages is likely to stick with us

column on why paychecks are likely to keep shrinking even if unemployment starts to inch down, I consulted Google to see if the term Marxism was trending upward. It was and has been ever since the end of December, the conclusion of a year in which workers' share of the U.S. economic pie shrank to the smallest piece ever: 54,4% of GDP, down from about 60% in the 1970s.

No wonder Marx is back in fashion. It's been more than 100 years since the German philosopher predicted that capitalism's voraciousness would be its undoing-as bosses invest more in new technologies to make things more cheaply and efficiently and less in workers themselves, who, deprived of fair wages, would eventually rise up and revolt. That hasn't happened, of course, though depressed wages certainly contributed to the revolution in Egypt, not to mention lots of other instances of public unrest over the past few years. But the fact that wages in the U.S. and most other rich countries have been falling since the 1970s and went off a cliff after the recent financial crisis is going to become a more pressing economic and political concern. Just think how hard it will be for Obama to sell himself in 2012 if salaries are still falling.

And fall they have, to an extent not seen since the 1930s. Labor Department figures show that from 2007 to 2009, more than half the full-time workers who lost jobs and then found new work took pay cuts. A depressing 36% had to take positions paying 20% less than the ones they lost.

The drop in wages occurs in part because unemployment rose so sharply and widely after the crisis and has remained higher for longer than in past recessions. Both factors have led to a disconnect between labor supply and demand that makes it tough for workers to acquisite better deals. Forget about driving a hard bargain with a new boss. Most of us feel lucky just to have bosses, and we work as hard as we can to keep them happy—as the productivity figures emphatically show.

Yet even if unemployment starts to ease, it's unclear whether labor's portion



of the pie will stop shrinking. The global headwinds may be too strong, just as Marx predicted, technology-driven productivity is increasing not just in manulateruring but also in services. Even the financial wizards that caused the crisis arent immune. While trading volumes and the size of global markets have increased dramatically in the past 20 years, Wall Street still employs roughly the same number of people. If you've ever watched a trader working a three-screen Bloomberg terminal flashing hundreds of prices in dozens of countries, you'll understand why

The other megatrend of our age, the rise of emerging markets, will also

continue to put pressure on U.S. wages. According to Goldman Sachs, more than 70 million people in developing countries become middle-class consumers each year. That's great for us in some ways, because it means they'll have money to buy goods made by companies in the rich world. But it also means they'll have the skills necessary to do our jobs. A lot of Wall Street data crunching, for example, is now done in India, and the number of high-end strategy jobs in fields like consulting is increasing there to.

The latter trend is gaining on the former. A recent study by Capital Economics found that from 2002 to 2008, employment abroad by U.S. multinationals increased 22.6%, while employment at

home increased by a mere 4.9%. What's good for U.S. companies and what's good for U.S. labor and wages are no longer always the same thing. The discrepancy may become an increasingly contentious political issue.

The best way to mitigate the

fallout—which may include the rise of ugly populist politics—is to focus on social mobility. While rich-country wages will be increasingly compressed across the board, those at the top of the socioeconomic scale will feel the pressure much less. The goal.

then, should be to push more people upward. Portable pensions and health care reform would help by allowing laid-off workers with skills to move more easily to places where they can command good jobs. Creative retraining programs would help as well. Demmark provides a good example: when companies there shed workers because of outsourcing, the government continues to pay those workers for two years, but on a declining scale and only with the promise that they attend retraining programs for jobs in highergrowth industries.

None of these are easy or quick solutions to shrinking wages. But they are a lot better than the Marxist alternative.



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## Joe Klein



To read Joe's blog posts, go to time.com/

## **Telling It like It Is.** Indiana's Mitch Daniels is brutally candid about the difficulty of real deficit cutting

A tan annual meeting of the Christha Republican stalwar Mulliam Bennett introduced a parade of his party's candidates for President by warning the audience to be wary of pandering politicians. "And if a candidate tells you only things you want to hear," he said, "if he asks nothing of you, then give him nothing in return, certainly not your vote, because he is not telling you the truth."

The Bennett Test is my bright line for presidential cattle shows (in both parties). Over the course of now 10-God help me-presidential campaigns, I've seen only a handful of candidates pass it, and most of those had no hope of winning. I remember John Anderson chiding his fellow Republicans about their gun love in 1980. Bruce Babbitt campaigned in 1988 under a banner that actually read BABBITT: UNIVERSAL MEANS TESTING, Bill Clinton in 1992 was the only candidate I've seen who challenged his party's base, on social policy issues like welfare and crime, and won. Certainly, this has been foreign turf for Republicans, with their sturdy threelegged stool of a governing philosophy: low taxes, strong defense, traditional values.

#### But the latter-day Republicans are becoming a more interesting party, riven

by differing opinions on national defense and social issues. At this year's Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), there were two candidates who passed the Bennett test with flying colors. One was the libertarian Ron Paul, who challenged the strong defense leg of the stool by cele brating the Republican-led House vote against some of the more intrusive provisions of the Patriot Act and calling, once again, for an end to the war in Afghanistan. CPAC has been pretty much over

whelmed by Paul's young minions in recent years—they're also not too keen on the traditional values leg of the stool, especially if it involves opposition to gay rights and legalized marijuana—and their response to his appearance was turnultuous: Paul won the presidential straw poll.

Paul, though, has little chance to win the nomination, as Donald Trump, who has begun his campaign to lead the GOP's reality-TV wing, pointed out. A far more



interesting form of candor came from Governor Mitch Daniels of Indiana. Daniels didn't challenge his party's core beliefs he gaze a very conservative speech about the budget deficit. But he passed the Bennett Test nonetheless bracing his party on matters of style and intellectual honesty. He was brutally can did about how difficult real deficit cut ting would have to be neither the military nor the elderly would be spared.

But Daniels' real breakthrough was his measured tone, the absence of demagoguery. Presidential cattle shows are, it is said, a prime occasion to toss "red meat" to the party faithful. Usually the meat in question is ballone, but Daniels pretty much eschewed the sausage. He did not indulge in the silliness of the current conservative attack against Barack Obama: that the President had denigrated American exceptionalism by saying—accurately—that Greeks believe Greece is exceptional and ditto the Brits. Daniels didn't alk about Obama's foreign policy at all. He was unrelenting in his attack on the liberal welfare state, but he did it substantively—with only one sordid venture into Republican exceptionalism: "Our opponents are better at

nastiness than we will ever be," he said. And yet Daniels undercut his thick slice of braunschweiger by calling out his own party's nasty caucus and making a plea for a bigger Republican tent: "We will need people who never tune in

> to Rush or Glenn or Laura or Sean," he said, and addressed that larger tribe by saying, "Our main task is not to see that people of great wealth add to it but that those without much money have a great er chance to earn some." (Oaniels has proposed raising some taxes on the wealthy in Indiana) This was, truly, red meat for grownups.

#### That said, I have a basic problem with Daniels' message. He posits the

federal deficit as an overwhelming "red menace." If so, why didn't he re sign as budget director when George

W. Bush approved an unnecessary, unpaid for war in fra, and egregious tax cut shat evaporated the surpluses Bill Clinton (and Newt Gingrich) had built? Furthermore, I suspect Daniels' menace is secondary to some larger problems: the hollowing out of the American middle class, of American industrial capacity; the lassitude in oured-ucational system; the greed and laziness that are our affluenza hangover.

Any presidential contender whose in

Any presidential contender whose intellectual honesty wins it he notice of columnists like me is usually doomed to irrelevance. Daniels won only 4% support in the CPAC straw poll. But I would pay cash money to watch him debate Obama on these issues, and I suspect the Republic would be much the better for it.



# Classo

The protests rippling from one end of the Middle East to the and women who have known little political freedom in their



# f 2011

other are the handiwork of a new generation of men young lives—and are no longer willing to wait for it

## WHY IT'S DIFFERENT THIS TIME

The combination of youth and technology is driving a wave of change. Fingers crossed: it may turn out just fine By Fareed Zakaria



HE YEAR OF THE REVOLUTIONS BEGAN IN JANUARY, IN a small country of little importance. Then the protests spread to the region's largest and most important state, toppling a regime that had seemed firmly entrenched. The effect was far reaching. The air was filled with talk of liberty and freedom. Street protests cropped upeverywhere, challenging the rule of autocrats and monarchs, who watched from their palaces with fear.

That could be a description of events in Tunisia and Egypt as those countries' peaceful revolutions have inspired and galvanized people across the Middle East. In fact, it refers to popular uprisings 162 years earlier that began in Sicily and France. The revolutions of 1848, as they were called, were remarkably similar in mood to what is happening right now in the Middle East. (They were dubbed the springitime of peoples by historians at the time.) The backdrop then, as now, was a recession and rising food prices. The monarchies were old and selentic. The young were in the forefront. New information technologies—mass newspapers—connected the crowds.

Except that the story didn't end so well. The protesters gained power but then splintered, fought one another and weakened themselves. The military stayed loyal to the old order and cracked down on protests. The monarchs waited things out, and within

a few years, the old regimes had reconstituted themselves. "History reached its turning point, and failed to turn," wrote the British historian A.J.P. Taylor.

Will history fail to turn in the Middle East? Will these protests in Yemen, Bahrain, Jordan and beyond peter out, and in a few years, will we look back at zors and realize that very little actually changed? It's certainly possible, but there are two fundamental reasons the tensions that have been let loose in the Middle East over the past few weeks are unlikely to disappear, and they encompass two of the most powerful forces changing the world today: youth and technology.

The central, underlying feature of the Middle East's crisis is a massive youth bulge. About 60% of the regions population is under 30. These millions of young people have aspirations that need to be fulfilled, and the regimes in place right now show little ability to do so. The protesters' demands have been dismissed by the regimes as being for Islamic fundamental-ism or a product of Western interference. But plainly these are homegrown protests that have often made the West uneasy as they have shaken up old alliances. And what the protesters want in the first place is to be treated as citizens, not subjects. In a recent survey of Middle Eastern youth, the No. I wish of the young in nine countries was to live in a free country, although.



Flying high on freedom Protesters in Cairo celebrate Mubarak's resignation

a basic bargain: we will subsidize you as long as you accept our rule. Rattled by recent developments, Kuwait abhrain both decided to give all of their critizens bonuses this year (\$3,000 in Bahrain).

Kiwait, \$2,700 in Bahrain).

Those payments are a reminder that in the Middle East, there are two modes of control: mass repression and merit briefly. Per haps the latter, used in the Gulf states, will prove more effective though in Bahrain the regime faces specific challenges, with a

Those payments are a reminder that in the Middle East, there are two modes of control: mass prisery, Fer haps the latter, used in the Gulf states, will prove more effective-though in Bahrain, the regime faces specific fuellneges, with a Sunni minority ruling over a 5 hitte majority. The broader pre dicament facing both systems, however, is a population that is increasingly aware, informed and connected. It's too simple to say that what happened in Cunisia and Egypt happened because of Facebook. But technology—satellite television, computers, mobile phones and the Internet—has played a powerful role in informing, educating and connecting people in the region. Such advances empower individuals and disempower the state. In the old days, information technology favored those in power, because it was one to many. That's why revolutionaires tried to take over radio stations in the 1930s—so they could broadcast information to the masses. Today's technologies are all many to many, networks in which everyone is connected but no one is in control. That's bad for anyone tryring to suppress information.

but more than half of those who live in the Middle East are in lands that do not produce oil. Moreover, oil has proved a curse in the rich countries, where the economies have little to offer other than extracting hydrocarbons, where armies of foreigners do all the work and where regimes continue to offer their people

Of course, the state can fight back. The Egyptian government managed to shut down Egyptians' access to the Internet for five days. The Iranian regime closed down cell-phone service at the height of the green movement's protests in 2008, But think of the costs of such moves. Can banks run when the Internet is down? Can commerce expand when cell phones are demobilized? Syria has only now opened access to facebook, but it's basic approach remains to keep the world tightly at bay—which is a major obstacle to economic growth and to tackling that vital problem of youth unemployment. North Korea can stay stable as long as it stays utterly stagnant. (And that stability is for the short term anyway.) For regimes that need or want to respond to the aspirations of their people, openense becomes an economic and political necessity.

The modernizing imperative—societies need to embrace more openness to make progress—siw hyl and allowing myself to be optimistic about the progress of the youth revolutions. It's easy to be disappointed when looking at the Middle East's sad recent history. And yet something in the region feels as if it is changing. Warren Buffett once said that when amone tells him. "This time it's different," he reaches for his wallet because hefears he's going to be swindled. Well, I have a feeling that this time in the Middle East, it's different. But I have my hand on my wallet anyway.

to be sure, jobs and the desire to live in well-run, modern societies ranked very high as well.

Young people are not always a source of violence. The West experienced a demographic bulge-the famous baby boom in the decades after World War II-that is known mainly for fueling economic growth. China and India, likewise, have a large cohort of young workers, and that adds to those countries' economic strength. But without economic growth, job opportunities and a sense of dignity, too many young people-especially young men-can make for mass discontent. That is what has happened in the Middle East, where the scale of the youth bulge is extreme-perhaps the largest in the world right now. From 1970 to 2007, 80% of all outbreaks of conflict occurred in countries where 60% or more of the population was younger than 30. And even places where the baby boom produced growth are not without problems. The peak years of the West's bulge came in the late 1960s, a period associated with youth rebellions and mass protests.

Journalists, politicians and scholars have all noted the Middle East's youth problem. But the region's governments have done little to address it—youth unemployment remains staggeringly high, by some measures close to 25%. The oil boom has certainly helped the Gulf countries pas off their people in various ways. WORLD

# RAGE, RAP AND REVOLUTION

A generation once dismissed as politically supine has toppled two dictators and shaken up regimes across the Middle East. Who are the Arab youth, and what do they want? By Bobby Ghosh

T 6:30 P.M. ON FEB. 15, AS thousands of people gathered to protest against their ruler at a busy intersection in Manama, the capital of the small island nation of Bahrain, you could just about hear over the general hubbub the anthem of the young people who have shaken regimes from North Africa to the Arabian Gulf. It wasn't a verse from the Koran. It wasn't a traditional tune from the region. It was rap. A reedy female voice shouted out, several times, the first line of "Rais Lebled," a song written by the Tunisian rapper known as El Général, "Mr. President, your people are dying," the woman sang. Then others joined in. "Mr. President, your people are dying/ People are eating rubbish/ Look at what is happening/ Miseries everywhere, Mr. President/Ttalk with no fear/ Although I know I will get only trouble/ I see injustice everywhere."

Bahrain, as it happens, doesn't have a President; it's ruled by a King, Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa. No matter. The protesters in Bahrain knew that "Rais Lebled" was the battle hymn of the Jasmine Revolution that brought down Tinnisa's dictator, Zineel Abidine Ben Ali, and that it was then adopted by the demonstrators in Cairo's Tahrir Square who toppled Hosni Mubarak. Now it had come to Bahrain, as rage against poverty and oppression swept the Arab world from west to east. It shir 'just songs that are being copied: in a nod to the Egyptians, organizers in several countries have dubbed their demonstrations Days of Rage, and the popular Tunisian chant, "The people want the regime to fall," has been taken up by protesters from Aligeria to Yemen.

But the most important things sort's protests have incommon don't come from copying—they come naturally. All of the revolts are led by young men and women, many of whom are novices at political activities. All use modern tools, like social-networking sites on the Internet and texting over mobile phones, to organize and amplify their protests. And all have the same demands a right to choose and



#### 'THE LARGER STRATEGY IS TO USE NONVIOLENCE, NONCOOPERATION, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. IT HAS TO [INCLUDE] EVERYONE AND BE TRULY NONVIOLENT.'

FADI QURAN PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES



change their leaders, an end to rampant corruption, the opportunity for employment and improvement. "Whether you're in Tunis or in Cairo or in Manama," says Ala'a Shehabi, 30, a Bahraini economics lecturer and political activist, "young Arabs are all on the same wavelength."

In less than two months, this generation has already wrought political change on a scale not seen since the end of the Coid War. The classo for a t. has Gelled two despots and forced other famously inflexible ruters to make concessions, some dramatic (Yemen's longtime President Ali Abdullah Saleh has promised not to run for re-election) and some desperate (King Hamad has offered every Báhraini household the equivalent of \$2,000. And all this was achieved by largely peaceful demonstrations and despite the absence of clear leaders.

There may be more to come: Growing protests in Bahrain and Yemen could lead to greater concessions from their rulers. And the Arab uprising has already given a boost to the flagging Green Revolution in Iran. (That, in turn, has provoked a fiere

crackdown by government forces.) There have also been demonstrations in Libya against the regime of "Brother Leader" Muammar Gaddafi. So who are the Middle East's new revolutionaries? Where do they come from, and what do they want?

#### Getting the Young People Wrong

generation come of age in the Middle East struggle to explain its sudden empowerment. "These young people have done more in a few weeks than their parents did in 30 years," says Hassan Nafaa, a political science professor at Cairo University. "They are the Internet Generation... or the Sacebook Generation... or just call them the Mirade Generation."

Yet not so long ago, these were the men and women who were being called the lost generation. For years, Middle East experts had described Arab youths as frustrated but feekless: they disliked and distrusted their authoritarian rulers, they keenly felt their limited economic prospects, but they were too politically emasculated to press

for change. They were thoroughly intimidated by the Muharaksand Sales, togeth er with their ubiquitous, Orwellian spise and secret police; they were distillusioned by the failed attempts a trebellion by their parents' generation. Western observers were not alone in misreading this generation's potential. If you had said some years ago that my students would be responsible for demortatic change in Egypt, I would have laughed," admits Nafaa. According to the edid narrative, the only

oulet for youthful dissent lay in Islamic extremism and violence. A much cited 2003 Brookings Institution report on Arab youths warmed that they were being raised in an environment of religious radicalism and anti Americanism. "These values," the report argued, "thus become the formative elements of a new and dispossessed gencation, auguring badly for the future."

The auguries were wrong. In reality, Arab youths were a big part of the silent, moderate majority. In virtually every Arab country, more than half the population is less than 30 years old. And like young

#### 'I WAS THERE TO SHOW MY ANGER ABOUT THE OPPRESSION, THE FACT THAT I CAN'T LIVE THE WAY I WANT, THAT WOMEN HAVE LESS RIGHTS IN IRAN,'

MARIAN IRAN



people everywhere, most of them prefer the freedom that comes with democracy to the straitjacket of political autocracy orrule by religious conservatives. A survey of youths in nine Arab states released in 2010 by the p.r. firm Asda's Burson Marsteller showed that they ranked democracy as a greater priority than good civic infrastructure, access to the best education or even fair wages.

Granted, these young people may not all have a clear vision of what kind of democracy they want, only that it is accompanied by free and fair elections. But that counts for a generation that has only ever known one ruler, the opportunity to kick one out every four or five years may be democracy's greatest appeal. "I don't care who ends up running this country," says Egyptian student Khaled Kamel, "as long as I have the ballity to change them if I don't like them."

#### A Thousand Sparks

IF MOST FOREIGNERS COULDN'T PUT THE sheer numbers of Arab youths together with their political aspirations to measure their clout, neither did the young Arabs themselves. Jared Cohen, director of the corporate think tank Google Ideas, who until recently worked on online outreach at the U.S. State Department, says young people were the "de facto opposition in many of these countries, but they didn't see their own power."

As always, it needed a thousand little sparks to light the fire of revolt-to reveal to those who thought they were weak how much power they really had. Kamel, a university student from the Nile Delta village of Zawiyat Ghazal, recalls when he fell from a train at a station and a policeman came up to him. "Instead of helping me, he hit me because I was lying there on the platform, which you're not supposed to do," says Kamel, That sort of humiliation at the hands of authority was commonplace in Mubarak's Egypt, but Kamel, 20, had an outlet for his frustrations; an ancient Hewlett Packard PC and an Internet connection. He created a blog and chronicled his anger in sarcastic prose.

Then last summer, another instance of police brutality became the talk of the Egyptian online community: in Alexandria, a young businessman named Khaled Said was beaten to death by cops. A Facebook page entitled "We Are All Khaled Said" was created by an anonymous administrator. Kamel joined the Facebook group and became one of its lead organizrator online, and the two began an e- mail trator online, and the two began an e- mail conversation. It wasn't until Feb. 7 that Kamel finally learned the identity of his correspondent: Weal Ghomin, the Google executive who has become the face of the Egyptian revolution.

Kamel's first sense that his activism could help change the entire system came when he worked with Ghontmand others to plan a day of protests on Jan. 2e. While Cairo and Tahrir Square got the most international attention during the uprising across the country, marching with them in Alexandria and in the nearby town of Damanhur, where fleeing officials set fire to the state security headquarterily headquarter

Now Kamel walks through the burned

If Said's murder at the hands of the police spurred young Egyptians into action, in Tunisia it was the self-immolation of vegetable vendor Mohammed Bouasie after he was slapped by a policewoman. In Yemen, activist Tawakul Karman was moved by the plight of 30 families expelled in early 2007 from their village when the land was given to a tribal leader close to President Saleh. The families are known collectively as fashin, after the name of their village, and Karman, 32, a mother of three, has made them her cause every Tuesday since 2007, she and scores of others

Her tenacity has yielded nothing: the government has refused to intervene on the Jakahin's behalf. Karman now believes that only Saleh's resignation—he's been in power three years longer than Muharak was—willallow Yemen to start addressing its problems. Like activists elsewhere, she finds her spirits rased by what's happened in Tunisia and Egypt. The ranks of protest era st Sana'a University have swelled to the thousands. Several protests have been broken up by police or armed supporters of the regime, but Karman is undaunted. "Now there's a race between Yemen and Algeria to see who will be next," she says."

Not all the activist Arab youths are looking for regime change. In Ramallah, the capital of the Palestinian territories, Fadi Quran has set his sights on what are arguably more difficult goals: unification of the warring Palestinian factions of Fatah and Hamas, followed by an end to the Israeli occupation. Quran, 22, a Stanford University grad who runs an alternativeenergy start-up, set up a Facebook account calling for a sit-in in front of the Egyptian embassy while Mubarak was clinging to power in Cairo. But he was forced to take it down by the Palestinian Authority's security services and was then questioned for hours. "It truly was obvious they had never had to deal with this type of activism before," he says.

Quran and several other Palestinian activists are now planning a wave of demonstrations to demand that Fatah and Hamas reconcile, the better to "fight the occupation in a much more efficient and



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MUNTAZER AL-ZAYDI IRAO

productive manner." Quran is counting on young Palestinians to brush aside the failed policies of their elders. "They can't find any answers because they're stuck in the box," he says. "But when the youth comes in, they're going to see a new vision, and we're going to achieve the goals of our struggle."

#### Doing It for Themselves THE REVOLUTION OF THE YOUNG GENERA-

tion in the Middle East is theirs and theirs alone—spokespeople have been specific in dismissing the idea that they have needed outside assistance or have looked much to the outside for inspiration.

Even so, their actions have been such that policymakers far from the Middle East now have to react to a new reality, recalibrate policies long based on convenient relationships with despots and build connections with this new source of political strength. That's specially true for the U.S., which many Arab activists regard as the great power that enabled their oppressors. "The U.S. government was aware of the injustices in Egypt but continued supporting Mubarak because of self-interest," says a Bahraini activist who asked that his or her name be withheld. "No one can argue that Saudi Arabia is the home of human rights or democracy, yet America continues to support the regime."

Still, for the Obama Administration, there's good news too. So far, there have been few instances of President Obama being burned in effigy or of the U.S. flag being torched by angry mobs. The State Department insists that it has long been paying attention to the needs and aspirations of young Arabs. 'This has been a key demographic for us for quite some time," says a State Department official. Funding for youth outerach has increased significantly in recent years. The U.S. now spends more to support democracy and governance in the Arab wondlevery year than the \$250 million its spent in total from 1991 to 2001.

Many programs are deliberately lowkey, in part because an open association with the U.S. can be politically dramaging. "It's really been very hard for most people in the Arab world to work directly with the U.S. government," says Ethan Zuckerman, one of the founders of Global Voices, an international network of bloggers and citizen journalists that has hosted regional conferences for Arab bloggers.

As the old order crumbles, the U.S. will want these new relationships to strengthen into lasting bonds. But Arab youths are unlikely to feel the need for U.S. support as acutely as the leaders who came before them. After all, they didn't need U.S. help to get rid of those dictators. "People said it couldn't happen, because the U.S. supported Mubarak, but still he fell," says the Bahraini activist. "Now we know we don't need the U.S. on our side to get what we want. Now we know we can do it for ourselves." Faced with such self-confidence, the Obama Administration must manage the delicate task of maintaining support for regimes in the region while telling Arab leaders, in public and private, to address the turmoil with more urgent reformsall while trying to increase direct contact with the youths leading the uprisings.

That will not be easy. Foreign policy considerations couldn't be further from

use the Internet

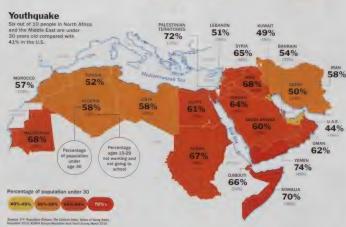
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of 2011. For young Arabs in Yemen, Libya and Algeria, there are regimes still to topple. The revolution hasn't yet gotten off the ground in Syria and is still in its early days in Bahrain. And in Tunisia and Egypt, the gains from the past two months need to be protected: there are political parties to form, elections to contest. The military council that took over from Mubarak has promised constitutional reforms and elections in six months.

Many of the young men and women who helped make the revolutions happen are keen to hold on to the sense of blissful dawn they have experienced for the first time in their young lives. Ahmed Khalil, scion of a wealthy Egyptian business family and a veteran of Tahrir Square, hasn't returned to work even though his plastics factory reopened several days ago: there are more important things now than making money, he says. Khalil, 29, is part of the "Revolution Friends" Facebook group that is exploring ways to channel the revolution's momentum into a civic-awareness campaign. He has printed leaflets, now being distributed throughout Cairo, calling on his fellow Egyptians to work "for a better Egypt and to protect the victory that you and I achieved with our own hands." (Sample suggestions: "Don't litter, don't blow your car horn for no reason, don't pay bribes, don't allow a police officer to humiliate someone in front of you, don't harass girls on the street, know your rights. stay positive, respect other opinions.")

And what of the revolution's rapper? El Général-his given name is Hamada Ben Amor-is disappointed he missed

some of the action: he was jailed for three days during the Jasmine Revolution, and when Egyptian protesters invited him to perform in Tahrir Square, he couldn't go because he has no passport. Instead, he's written a new rap called "Vive Tunisie!" that honors Tunisian protesters and those killed during the uprising. There are shout-outs, too, to other youth movements. "I also speak about the program of freedom in Egypt, Algeria, Libya and Morocco," he says. The youth of the Arab world are not done yet. - WITH REPORTING BY ARYN BAKER, ABIGAIL HAUSLOHNER AND RANIA ABOUZEID/CAIRO, NICHOLAS BLANFORD AND ANDREW LEE BUTTERS/ BEIRUT, VIVIENNE WALT/PARIS, KARL VICK/RAMALLAH, ERIK STIER/SANA'A AND MICHAEL SCHERER AND MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON



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### Hey, Chicago, Say Hello to Your Next F#@\*ing Mayor

On his best behavior, Rahm Emanuel looks to trade running the White House for running a great U.S. city

BY JAMES WARREN

N A RECENT SATURDAY MORNing, a middle-aged man worked the produce and deli sections of a South Side Chicago supermarket, ambling past signs touting a half-pound of honey ham for \$2.49 and a bulletin board with photos of three teen runaways.

In tan chinos, a sports shirt and a wellworn brown leather jacket, he walked up to the African-American shoppers and em ployees with brisk efficiency, engaged in amiable but brief chats, then turned and headed down the bread aisle, a universe away from the West Wing meeting he'd have been in were it not for a career decision unprecedented in political annals.

"Rahm Emanuel, running for mayor" he said, thrusting out his hand to Chiquita Robinson, 48, a deli clerk who didn't need the introduction. "I'm gonna voic for you," she said, later explaining her preference: "Obama asked him to work for him. He's from Chitago. He's really involved in things, knows a lot of people and will be great."

He doesn't shout, doesn't curse, doesn't tell anybody they're stupid or wrong. For the moment, at least, that vividly profane side of Barack Obama's former chief of staff has been replaced by a disciplined campaigner with some overwhelming advantages: a national profile, a prodigious Rolodex, shock-and-awe fundraising, a triathlete's stamina and a hit man's resolveplus, of course, the reflected glow of the President of the United States, himself a hometown hero. All of which is upending conventional wisdom about the city's Feb. 22 mayoral election, in which Emanuel is the clear front runner. The change in leadership comes at a perilous moment. The next mayor could either reinstate Chicago's status as a world-class city, or leave it another postrecession victim.

CHICAGO POLITICS BEING A BLOOD SPORT. front-runnerdom has made the slim Emanuel a fat target. Critics wonder if a man known for dropping F bombs like a B-52 has the temperament to be mayor. Emanuel's prime rival raises daily the threat of a "Rahm tax" on services from gym memberships to haircuts. The cops and firefighters pointedly are not endorsing him. People are still muttering about the more than \$18 million he earned in less than three years as an investment banker after he left the Clinton White House And Emanuel had to summon every ounce of his finite patience to endure nearly 12 consecutive hours of public interrogation over



whether he even qualifies to be on the ballot as a legal city resident. (He does, according to the state's supreme court.)

In this odd adventure, Emanuel, 51, is something of a trailblazer: there are 17 living former presidential chiefs of staff, vet none have departed the White House for anything quite so humble as a bid for municipal office, James Jones, an Oklahoman who held the job under Lyndon Johnson. went on to serve a few terms in Congress: Dick Cheney, who staffed Gerald Ford, represented Wyoming in the House; and Erskine Bowles, who steered Bill Clinton through the Lewinsky saga, lost two U.S. Senate bids from North Carolina, But it's something different to walk away from Situation Room crisis meetings, visits to foreign capitals, high-stakes budget negotiations and the Sunday-morning talk-show circuit for a rough-and-tumble world in which speedy garbage pickup can make you

'You can have a world-class ballet and opera. But if half your kids aren't graduating, you can't be a world-class city.' a hero and unplowed snow can ruin you.

And we're not talking about just any White House chief of staff. We're talking about Rahm, among the most famous and influential occupants the job has seen in years. A man who helped elect Clinton and to shape his White House, then won a hardfought North Side congressional seat from which he, in turn, recruited and advised the candidates who restored a Democratic House majority in 2006. A man who mused about becoming the first lewish Speaker of the House, before leaving Congress to work beside America's first black President, And vet here he is this morning at a strip mall in a black working-class neighborhood, fist bumping little kids as surprised shoppers snap cell-phone pictures. The candidate is warm, if not effusive, good with eve contact, then exiting conversations to quickly corral another shopper as if he were a hustling parking-lot attendant paid per car. Emanuel is a decisive man, and he is campaigning in the pursuit of a decisive win on Feb. 22-not just a victory but one big enough to avoid a runoff election.

That was once thought to be impossible. Given the large (six-candidate) field, and the deep ethnic fragmentation of America's third largest city, insiders doubted that anybody could pull more than 50% to win outright. The bookmakers expected a runoff between a white candidate and





a black or Latino contender. Yet here in one of the nation's most segregated cities, not one African American shopper or worker during this morning's supermarket swing privately voices a preference for the leading black candidate, former U.S. Senator Carol Moseley Braun. No matter that in 1992 Chicago catapulted her to the U.S. Senate-the body's first and only African-American female. To these voters, a sense that Emanuel has the power and prowess to deliver results matters more: "He could pull strings to do the city good," says Lucas Redmond, 69, a retired refrigeration engineer who voted for Braun back then but associates her with wasted opportunity. Chimes in a dairy-department employee: "I voted for her, but it seems when we go with race, it doesn't do us any good. He's better qualified."

City hall has been run since 1989 by Richard M. Daley, the king of American mayors. Daley leaves Chicago having overseen the city's transformation from declining Rust Belt bastion to world-class metropolis, with a flourishing arts seene, innovative financial markets and commerce-fueling transport services. With its dazgling sculpture and architecture, the 245-3cre (10 hectare) Millennium Park, opened in 2004, not only anchors downtown but makes it one of the great public spaces anywhere.

Great Chicago fireball The peripatetic candidate, seen above with firefighters (whose union failed to endorse him) and with his staff, is determined to avoid a runoff vote

Chicago's problems, however, are also daunting. There's the city's \$500 million deficit, which amounts to nearly 10% of its annual budget. Several pension funds face the prospect of going under, with little help likely from a state whose own financial predicament is precarious at best. The city's basic infrastructure, especially mass transit, is in rapid decline. The school system is in crisis, with a high school dropout rate that exceeds 50%. Only the cities of Detroit, Milwaukee and Newark, N.I., are more segregated. According to a recent analysis of economic growth in 150 metropolitan areas worldwide by the Brookings Institution and the London School of Economics. Chicago placed a listless 82nd. Chicago's substantial black population in particular endures crushing unemployment and persistent crime. "You can have a world-class ballet and opera," says Emanuel (a former ballet dancer). "But if half your kids aren't graduating, you can't be a world-class city."

Which brings us to the obvious question: Why? Why leave the grand arena of national governance for a circus of pothole fixing, tree trimming, water-main repair, subway-line extensions and fights over which alleys drivers can use as thoroughfares? Why subject yourself to a city-hall press corps whose cynicism can make its White House counterpart look decorous and fawnine?

"I loved the White House I loved work ing for both Presiden Ohama for two years and for President Clama for two years and for President Clinton for six years." Emanuel tells me after somehow arriving just five minutes late to a downtown diner in a bilizzard that has paralyzed the city. But I love with a greater amount of emotion and strength also being the mayor of the city of Chicago, a city I grew up in and I would want my kids to call home. I think it's facing some serious challenges. Every city faces these challenges. J want to be the first to solve them."

In other words, Emanuel is a gut-level kind of guy with a gut-level passion for Chicago. He loves it for the grit and grandiosity that has produced everything from Saul Bellow's greatest novels to Michael Jordan's six NBA titles to the eipe Daley family political machine-"I give you Chicago, "wrote the newsman-essayist H.L. Mencken. "Itis not London and Harvard. It is not Paris and buttermilk, Itis American in every childin and sparerib. It is alive from snout to tail." Emanuel's vision is less lyrical but just as devout. "It's the most livable big city," he says, "with all the potentials of a big city and the management of a smaller town, and the management of a smaller town,

This is what makes it, from a lifestyle question, unique. It's the only inland city with an international economic focus."

#### The Road to City Hall

NO ONE EXPECTED DALEY TO LEAVE WHEN he did. But Emanuel wasted no time assembling an organization that has operated with the discipline and stealth of a presidential incumbent with a lead. Famous for his invective and epithets. Emanuel knew that the image of a coarse hothead might be useful in a fixer but could unnerve voters choosing an executive. Thus the man who once sent a dead fish to a pollster has been on his best behavior, taking extreme care not to flash his trademark temper in public. (Though he can still occasionally get snippy, as he did during an appearance at a charter school, curtly telling one loquacious host to stop talking so that he could hear from the teachers.) He won't engage rivals in rhetorical combat-Emanuel has skipped several candidates' forums-and preters to appear, much like a President does, at only one message-specific public event per day. He is selectively minimalist about when to engage with the press.

Emanuel has also brought a political version of Colin Powell's concept of overwhelming force to bear on the race. The nearly \$12 million he raised in just the three months following Daley's September decision dwarfed the combined total funding of his rivals. It was five times that of his prime critic and opponent. Gery Chico, a wealthy lawyer and former Daley aide whom Rahm has managed to recast as a compromised insider. Moguls such as Steven Spielberg, Steve Jobs and Chicago hedge-fund billionaire Ken Griffin help finance an all-star team of local consultants and young sharpies lured from the Obama Administration. Entertainers such as Jennifer Hudson and Jeff Tweedy of Wilco have headlined fundraisers. The comedian Andy Samberg, who memorably imperson ated a cartoonishly obnoxious Emanuel on Saturday Night Live ("Do I lack even basic social skills? Absolutely"), stumped for Emanuel at a train stop in January, declaring that Emanuel would be "the most overqualified mayor of all time."

Rehind the seenes, meanwhile, Emanuel employs the most cutting edge techniques. A focus on social networking and demographically targeted emails is part of "using the Internet in ways not previously used in amunicipal campaign," says Chicago-based Democratic consultant Eric Adelstein. Emanuel is harnessing Google Analytics



Calm and collected On the campaign trail, Emanuel has restrained his famous temper and acid tongue

to micro-target voters based on their Web suring, "So you look for Chiago Bears' and there may be an Emanuel message that might interest you, a sports fan between the ages of 40 and 60," Adelstein says. While Emanuel has more than 40 paid staff mem bers, a well-known Latino candidate, city clerk Miguel del Valle, has six. And the contol Emanuel's team exerts can sometimes befit a national candidate: when a local tele-vision news staff on recently interviewed his parents; the campaign insisted that its own crew film the interview as well. And then there are the effective TV ads, one featuring Obama and and other, Bill Clinton.

The shrewd, muscular campaign is the natural product of a career that has always been somewhat exceptional. Born to a hard-driving pediatrician I always are always to a hard-driving pediatrician I am a serial to the who served in a lewish paramilitary organization that operated in Palestine and a psychiatric-social worker mother. Emanuel moved to the Chicago suburbs as youth with its equally ambitious and

successful brothers, prominent Hollywood agent Ari and hiothelicis oneologist Ezekiel. He attended summer school in Israel and eschewing a scholarship with of Joffrey Ballet, attended Sarah Lawrence College and quickly found his place in Chicago pollitics, working in 1989 as chief fundraiser for Richard Daley's first win ning mayoral bid. (The revolving Daley Obama door now features Daley's younger brother William, who hired Emanuel for that 1989 fundraising joh, replacing himas White House chief of staft[).

Emanuel's ascent to the national scene Emanuel's ascent to the national scene (Climon's Hedgling Little Rock. Ark., presi dential headquarters in 1991. He proved prodigious fundraiser and joined Clinton as a White House adviser for six years; not came those two plus literative years in investment hanking, in which he impressed many with his contacts; Judgment and capacity for work. In 2002 he won the congress stonal seat vacated by Rod Blagojevich, who went on to glory and then disgrace as gov rerone. Emanuel took on what he calls "a joh nobody wanted," he says, as chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign



Committee, where he was praised for selecting mostly moderate candidates and shepherding the party's 31-seat gain in 2006. It seemed entirely possible that Emanuel would succeed Nancy Pelosi as House Democratic leader until Obama asked him to take his mix of White House and Capitol

For a man barely acquainted with failure, the mayor's race could have been a humbling experience. Yet fortune shone upon him. His strongest potential white rival blinked and didn't run. The city's black political elite chose Braun as its "consensus" candidate, a move that proved disastrous: Braun has been uninspiring and erratic, most notably when she declared at a February candidates' forum that a black female rival had previously been "on crack." The public's attention has been elsewhere-the Bears' playoff run, the epic blizzard-drowning out the attacks of rivals like Chico, who has sought to exploit the vagueness of Emanuel's proposal to broaden Chicago's tax base. (Chico calls it "the largest sales tax in the city's history"; Emanuel counters that his plan would not raise overall taxes.)

Most fortuitous of all was the strange battle over the basic question of whether Emanuel was, in fact, a Chicago resident eligible to run for mayor. A lawsuit, whose source of funding remains mysterious, argued that he'd lived in D.C. too long to call himself a Chicagoan. Weeks of legal wrangling culminated on Dec. 14 in nearly 12 consecutive hours of testimony from Emanuel that included a discussion of items stored in his Chicago basement (including his wife's wedding dress). After an appeals court ruled against Emanuel, the Illinois Supreme Court unanimously decreed him a legal resident. A saga that threatened to embarrass not only gave him endless free publicity but, thanks to his uncharacteristic self-restraint in the face of goading by a pack of hostile citizens, softened the caricature of volcanic Rahmbo. It made him out to be the victim and underscored an implicit campaign theme: Emanuel as patriot who left his post in Congress to serve his President and now longed to return home. Especially in the African-American community, the notion of a powerful white man sacrificing for a black man is potent.

#### Training for a Tough Job

MUCH CREDIT SURELY GOES TO THE CANDIdate himself, a paragon of fitness and energy. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays he starts at 5:45 a.m. by swimming a mile at the elite, perfect-for-networking East Bank Club. On Tuesdays and Thursdays he does 25 minutes on a stationary bike ("Level 14," he says), 15 minutes on an elliptical trainer, 100 sit-ups and weights. On Saturdays he hikes 20 miles (32 km) or runs 4 miles (6.5 km), and on Sundays he has private voga instruction. Then it's off to daylong, mostly unpublicized, appear ances, including meet and greets at 100 El stops so far and hours spent feeding his inner wonk by studying the intricacies of school policy, transit, community policing, planning, airports, homelessness, garbage collection, health care and public housing. There are detailed papers on saving health care dollars via wellness programs, semiprivatizing trash pickup, persuading retailers to put supermarkets in the city's many "food deserts" and cre ating a sprawling, Google-like campus for high-tech innovators and venture capitalists. A serial cell-phone user, he's hires and legislators, like Illinois senate president John Cullerton, who says Emanuel has been the only mayoral

The hardest part might be when Emanuel ventures into a lion's den: Chicago's firehouses. Few groups are as clannish as the city's firefighters, many of whom have the time to work second jobs. A strong case can be made that there are far too many, especially given the sharp drop in the number of fires (thanks in part to modern construction standards). Emanuel has hinted that this system must change. When he took his message to a North Side firehouse this month, one firefighter (who wouldn't give his name) offered his verdict: "The guys aren't too happy."

For Chicago to survive and flourish. however, hard choices lie ahead. A city with 30,000 employees groans under \$12.4 bil lion in unfunded pension liabilities. Borrowing \$245 million for anticipated police and firefighter raises, Chicago shares a fiscal predicament with cities nationwide. Though the school system has become a national laboratory for change, overall progress is incremental, and test scores are uninspiring. Teachers are well paid but and performance evaluation are awful, and principals are not well trained.

That's why Emanuel's critique of city workers in a TV ad titled "Service" infuriates union leaders but seems to resonate with voters. "City government is not an employment agency," he says. "That means making sure everybody that works for the city government knows that they're actually a public servant representing and helping the people that pay them." Union ists may be outraged, but a popular suspicion is that too many have had it too good for too long. Emanuel is proposing various savings of \$500 million, although he is withholding some key, politically charged details, like whether he'll go after pension benefits of existing workers.

It is a sign, however, that Emanuel is not interested in merely being a caretaker of the city he loves. Every city in America faces similar problems with its schools. budget and public employee pensions. But Chicago's example will be especially important. As he has been throughout his career. Emanuel is prepared to make some enemies to achieve his goals. He insists that the story is bigger than one man. "It's about governing, not about me," he says, "The day of reckoning has come. Denial is not a long-term strategy."

Warren is the Chicago columnist for the New York Times and former managina editor of the Chicago Tribune

BEHAVIOR

# The Truth About Addiction

Is it a real disease or an excuse for men to cheat and spend hours on porn sites? The inside story on uncontrollable desire

BY JOHN CLOUD/MALIBU

A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AN ADDICT AND A RECOVERING ADDICT IS THAT one hides his behavior, while the other can't stop talking about it. Self-revelation is an important part of recovery, but it can lead to awkward moments when you meet a person who identifies as a sex addict.

For instance, within a half-hour of my first meeting Neil Melinkovich, a 59 year-old life coach, sometime writer and former model who has been in Sex Addicts Anonymous for more than 20 years. he told me about the time in 1987 that he made a quick detour from picking up his girlifriend at the Los Angeles airport so the could purchase a service from a prostitute. Afterward, he noticed what he thought was red lipstick on himself. It turned out to be blood from the woman's mouth. He washed in a gas-station bathroom, met his girlifriend at the airport and

Patient or scoundrei? Melinkovich last year in West Hollywood, Calif. He has fought powerful urges for years

Photograph by Gregg Segal for TIME







then, in the grip of his insatiability, had unprotected sex with her as soon as they got home—in the same bed he said he had used to entertain three other women in the days before.

Is this a man with colossally bad judgment or one with a blameless addictive disorder? In the past year, this question has presented itself with dependable regularity. Most famously, Tiger Woods received sexaddiction treatment last winter after he admitted to infidelities; at least a dozen women came forward to claim they'd had sex with him. The chronically undisciplined Charlie Sheen recently sought help in controlling a variety of runaway appetites, including a fondness for the company of porn actresses. Earlier this month, Republican Congressmen Christopher Lee resigned after he was caught e-mailing a shirtless photo of himself to entice a woman he met on Craigslist. And then there is Silvio Berlusconi, the

Because the desire for sex is so powerfully encoded in our DNA, the abstinence model for treating sex addiction is usually unrealistic uninhibited Prime Minister of Italy, where prosecutors want him to face trial for accusations that he paid an underage jif to have see with him. Berfusconi has never hidden his partiality to beautiful women, but he has called the allegations—and reports of louche parties at his villa—politically motrated. All these cases differ in scope, but a central question remains. Why would these men risk everything to satisfy their urwes?

When it comes to addiction, the line between morality and disease has always been blurry. But only in the past 25 years have we come to regard excesses in necessary cravings-hunger for food, lust for sex-as possible disease states. In 1083, when Melinkovich was continuously cheating on his then wife (an actress from Planet of the Apes), a Minnesota-based addiction-treatment organization called the Hazelden Foundation published a foundational book called Out of the Shadows: Understanding Sexual Addiction. The book, which is still in publication, helped create the field of sex-addiction treatment. Its author, Patrick Carnes, is now executive director of Gentle Path, the sex-addict program Woods is said to have entered last year in Hattiesburg, Miss.

The American Psychiatric Association (APA) is debating whether sex addiction should be added to its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. The addition of what the APA is calling "hypersexual disorder" would legitimize sex addiction in a way that was unthinkable just a few years ago, when Bill Clinton's philandering was regarded as a moral failing or a joke—but not, in the main, as an illness.

APA recognition of sex addiction would create huge revenue streams in the mental health business. Some wives who know their husbands are porn enthusiasts would force them into treatment. Some husbands who have serial affairs would start to think of themselves not as rakes but as patients.

This is already happening, In the year since Woods made sex addiction famous, rehab facilities accustomed to dealing with alcoholics and drug addicts have found themselves swamped with requests for sex-addiction treatment. The privately held company Elements Behavioral Health, which operates high priced rehab centers around the US—including a celebrity friendly one on a breathtaking mountainside in Malibu, Calif.—recently acquired the Sexual Recovery Institute, a Los Angeles center for sex addicts. The institute's revenues grews 50% in 2010.

But the legitimacy now being granted to sex addiction requires a closer look. In the 20th century, we changed our think ing about alcoholism: what was once a moral weakness came to be understood as an illness resulting in large part from genetics. Sexual acting out seems different, though, is excessive just really just another biochemical accident?

#### When Lust Becomes a Compulsion

IT WAS IN THE 1960S THAT THE NOTION OF sex addiction entered popular consciousness. Two men—Albert Ellis, one of the





It's no halfway house At the Promises center in Malibu, Calif., treatment for sex addiction can cost up to \$90,000 a month

most esteemed psychologists of the late zoth century, and Edward Sagrain, a closeted gay sociologist who helped launch the gay rights movement—wrote a book published in New York in 1964 as Nymphomania: A Study of the Coverseed Woman. The book was titllating and influential: I helped popularize the locution nymphomaniac as a slur against unreserved women, and it inspired a 1975 follow-up by a UCLA psychoanalyst, Dr. Robert Stoller, who introduced the clum-sy companion term Don Itanism to describe unbridled male promiscuity.

Today the proposed APA definition of hypersexual disorder says you have an ill-ness if you spend so much time pursuing intercourse or masturbation as to interfere with your job or other important activities. According to the working language of the diagnosis. "repetitively engaging" in sexual behaviors when you are anxious, depressed or stressed would be considered a major warning sign for the disorder.

But when it comes to sex, what could possibly be too much? The proposed definition of hypersexual disorder draws no distinction between masturbation and intercourse. Many studies, however, have shown that regular intercourse with a committed partner (up to once a day) is a sign of a good relationship. So at what point do partners in a healthy relationship become too focused on sex? And what constitutes too little sex?

In the late 1940s, the sex-research team led by biologist Alfred Kinsey said only 3% of college age men reported a "total

sexual outlet" of seven or more per week. Total sexual outlet was a euphemism for the number of orgasms. Although Kinsey's data set was famously flawed-he used a largely self-selected sample that included some prison inmates-seven orgasms a week (either alone or with someone) is still considered by many experts to be a threshold for possible disorder. In a November 2009 Archives of Sexual Behavior paper, Dr. Martin Kafka, a Harvard Medical School professor and a prominent member of the APA work group on sex disorders, defined "hypersexual desire" among men as having seven or more orgasms per week for at least six months after age 15. Never mind that by Kafka's definition, virtually every human male undergoes a period of sex addiction in his life. It's called high school.

Kafka has also reported that the average man says he has three orgasms per week—but because some men are inclined to overestimate and others to underestimate, we have little idea what the accurate average is. The data on women's sexual habits are even more meager.

Because the definition of sex addiction is unclear, it's impossible to know how many people have it, although professionals sometimes use Kinsey's data to estimate prevalence at 3% to 10% of the population. That range is too wide to be of much use, but we do know that the arrival of Internet porn in the 1990s de many into unhealthy behaviors and extreme desires that eventually spurred them to seek treatment. Their misfortune created a challenge of psychologists, who had little idea how to help those who called themselves sex addicts. Over the past half-century, Hazelden, Alcoholics Anonymous and most other antisubstance-abuse organizations have defined recovery as 100% abstinence. But the desire to procreate is powerfully encoded in our DNA. Total abstinence instrumentally impossible, but it is usually unrealistic As Melinkovich, the LA sex addict, told me, "When it comes to drinking, you can put the plug back in the jug, But you can't to talk turn of sexual desire."

No one has figured out how to solve the conundrum of an addiction that must be mitigated but not eradicated. (A good analogy is to those who chronically bringe on food and must be taught to eat mod erately.) Doctors have one reliable way to stop people from having sex; give them antihormone drugs that result in what is known as "chemical castration." But because of side effects—for instance, the feminization of men who take them—the drugs are recommended only for recalcituant sex offenders. Someone who rents too many adult films is surely different from a child molester.

So what can be done for those spend ing thousands on porn or seeing six prostitutes a week? According to Robert Weiss, who runs the Sexual Recovery Institute, the most seriously affected patients must enter a facility where they have no access to porn or sex workers. They start individual and group therapy that is, ideally, widual and group therapy that is, ideally.

Addiction expert Dr. David Sack, CEO of Promises, standing next to a wall of tiles created by recovering addicts at the center

grounded in a cognitive-behavioral model designed to help them find rewarding activities other than sex—and consider the consequences of, say, looking at porn at work. But Weiss admits there is no simple way to teach sex addicts how to have healthy romantic relationships.

#### Sex Addicts Anonymous

OUR LIMITATIONS IN UNDERSTANDING THE nature of sex addiction haven't prevented practitioners from trying to profit from the surge in demand to cure it. The top inpatient programs—Carnes' Gentle Path in Mississippi; the resort-like Promises facility in Malibu, Calif. (where Britney Spears and Sheen are reported to have sought addiction

Sex-addict meetings can be extraordinarily awkward. Some attendees barely look up from fingernails digging into cuticles help; the swank ATON (Aide to Navigation) facility in La Jolla, Callif., which on a given afternoon might serve grilled halibut by the pool—can run you \$2,000 a day or more, with a minimum stay of a week. Fifteen years ago, none of these programs existed.

Free community meetings based on

the Alcoholics Anonymous model are also thriving. Melinkovich has not only undergone professional treatment at Promises: he also presides over a regular Los Angeles meeting of Sex Addicts Anonymous (SAA). one of the four major sex-addict 12-step groups in the U.S. (The others are Sexaholics Anonymous, Sex and Love Addicts Anonymous and Sexual Compulsives Anonymous.) Together, these four groups host 5 million to 10 million Americans per year. According to the official who took my call at SAA's international headquarters in Houston-a man who requested that not even his first name be printed-the organization has grown approximately 10% per year for the past seven years. Founded by a group of men in Minnesota in the late 1970s, SAA now has roughly 1,200 meetings convening around the globe each week. Ninety percent of the meetings are in the U.S., but the SAA official told me there are regular meetings in Argentina. South Africa, the U.K. and other countries.

The SAA meeting that Melinkovich runs

assembles in an L.A. church every weekday at noon. On the day I went, 38 peopleonly two of them women-gathered in a sun-flooded room on the ground floor. Like Alcoholics Anonymous and Cocaine Anonymous, the sex groups operate in a highly structured, almost liturgical fashion. People read aloud from manuals cum bibles-like A A's Bia Book, Sexaholics Anonvmous has its White Book-that are filled with harrowing personal stories and vague generalities. (From the White Book: "sexual sobriety includes progressive victory over lust.") About halfway through each meeting, a donation-collection plate is passed around, just like in church.

At the heart of every sex-addict meeting is the sharing portion, when addicts warring with longings spill stories. The need to share once hidden desires is os strong not that those who run meetings designate at a timer who asks attendees to stop talk ing after three or four minutes. One of the ing after three or four minutes. One of the Third stop and the stop of the stop of

narily awkward. Some attendees barely look up from fingernails digging into

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cuticles. At one meeting I attended in New York City, I met a man in his late 40s who said he hunches over his laptop and masturbates with such intensity that he once gave himself a hernia for which he had to be hospitalized. Other sex addicts have lost spouses and iobs.

The Promises facility in Malibu searches the possessions of entering clients (no matter how famous) in order to confiscate any porn. Computer access is tightly restricted. And as though they are boys at a midcentury parochial school, clients are instructed to not masturbate.

Contrarian therapists argue that asking adults to refrain from basic urges like the desire to masturbate goes against evolutionary psychology. "Almost all U.S. treatment programs tell the client to abstain, without consideration of what the client is motivated to do," writes A. Thomas Horvath, a past director of the addiction bureau of the American Psychological Association and the author of Sex, Drugs, Gamblina & Chocolate: A Workbook for Overcoming Addictions, (He is also the medical director of the AToN facility in La Jolla.) Instead, Horvath suggests that clients be given the choice of either abstinence or moderation. "You get the rewards; you pay the consequences; you decide," he writes.

Unfortunately, science does little to settle this debate, because the brain chemistry of sex addiction is not well understood. Your sexuality—your orientation, your level of desire, what you consider romantic satisfaction (orgam, love, validation, all of the above)—is a complex amalgam that involves your brain's hormonal system, its frontal-lobe reward system and its limbic system, which controls mood. Genes regulate these neural pathways, meaning that sexuality is partly heritable, but the environment in which you develop sexually can affect how those genes are expressed.

Sex addicts like to compare their habit

Should we regard out-of-control sexual behavior as an extreme version of normal sexuality, or is it an illness completely separate from it? to substance addiction, but scientists are only beginning to show proof of this connection. In December, scientists at Binghamton University in New York released the results of a study of 181 young adults showing that differences in their DNA were linked to differences in their sexual behavior. Those with a certain variant of the DRD4 gene were more likely to report having had one night stands and adulterous affairs. The DRD4 gene helps control how much dopamine is released when you have sex. For some, sex seems to provide more of a dopamine high. Also, we know that having sex releases endorphins, which are peptides that activate opiate receptors. Heroin and other drugs activate opiate receptors as well. But no study has proved that sex is tied to opiate receptors, and the DRD4 study hasn't been replicated.

What's more, we know that desire is more than testosterone and peptides. When evolution programmed our urge to mate, it used all kinds of tricks to make sure sexual desire would be durable: we want others not just hormonally but emotionally-so deeply that we speak of being "madly" in love. That's why the current models for treating sex addicts are so poor. As the prominent sex researcher Fred Berlin of Johns Hopkins University pointed out in a 2008 article in the journal Psychiatric Clinics of North America, "the notion that one can successfully choose to indefinitely resist an intense urge is often simply incorrect."

#### The Future of Treatment

AFTER MELINKOVICH AND I HAD SPENT a few hours together in Los Angeles, he started showing me some of the messages that were pinging his BlackBerry. At least three women had called him while we were eating dinner. One of them he kept calling "the 16-year-old" and then correcting himself to say "the 19-year-old." Once when his phone was ringing, Melinkovich turned the illuminated screen toward me. I saw that he had given the woman who was calling a special name-in honor of her favorite sexual position-which suggested that his treatment to date had not addressed a tendency to reduce women to sex objects. "It's true," he told me later. "If you have

this addiction, you objectify women. There's a lot of skin, a lot of beauty in this town." Hessid SAA has a three-second rule: you can check out an attractive person for a maximum of three-seconds," because after that, you start going into fantasy," Melinkovich checked himself into Promises five years ago. After a relation ship fell apart and he lost a \$1,000 a day job as a sober coach for a wealthy young man with addiction problems, Melinkov ich's libhdo cameroaring back. "It made me realize! was medicating depression with sexual activity." he told me. "Also, I real ized! headn't really been in love with that woman—I just had a complete sexual ob session with her."

Partly because of its proximity to Hollywood, where so many wealthy men and beautiful women can pursue their unhealthy sexual appetites ad libi tum, Promises now has one of the most comprehensive and respected sex-addiction programs in the nation. But when Melinkovich arrived there, he found that he was the only one there for sex addiction and that the unit had little experience in treating sex addicts. That's not surprising, even today, most addict treatment centers are still trying to develop standards of care for hypersexual conditions.

And they are still trying to address very basic questions. Should we regard out of control sexual behavior as an extreme ver sion of normal sexuality, or is it an illness completely separate from it? That question lies at the heart of the sex addiction field. but right now it's unanswerable. When I was with Melinkovich, I sometimes felt he was a normal guy who didn't quite know how to deal with the many women who find him attractive. Other times, like when he got a lascivious look in his eves while reading a text from a woman young enough to be his granddaughter, he seemed like a guy with a debilitating illness. "I'm kind of a work in progress," he told me a few months after we first met. "I'm still trying to define a healthy sexuality that works for me." The other day, he said, his impulses were so powerfully triggered by the sight of the singer Rihanna at the Grammys that he had to change the channel to a golf program. He is also trying to use his experience with sex addiction to help others. He has plans to launch a sober-coaching site called getneiled.com, and he wants to write a book.

It wasn't clear to me whether these ventures would work out or whether Melinkovich would relapse yet again. For now, he tries to cope with his urges through simple behavioral strategies. When he sees a pretty woman, he tries to look away and then tell himself, "God bliess her and her beauty."

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SCIENCE

### My Body, My Laboratory

Portrayed as lunatics in comic books, scientists who experiment on themselves have long pushed the boundaries of human knowledge. And now, through the Internet, their method is becoming mainstream

BY EBEN HARRELL

T THE RADCLIFFE HOSPITAL IN Oxford, England, in March 2002, doctors wheeled Kevin Warwick, a professor of cybernetics at the University of Reading, into an operating theater for what has to be one of the world's only cases of elective neurosurgery on a healthy patient. Warwick belongs to a rare breed of scientists who experiment on themselves. He had volunteered to go under the knife so surgeons could hammer a silicon chip with 100 spiked electrodes directly into his nervous system via the median nerve fibers in his forearm. The goal was to fire electrical impulses into his brain to see whether a human could learn to sense, interpret and reply to computer-generated stimuli. The operation was dangerous. Success could lead to new avenues for prosthesis development, among other applications. Failure could mean nerve damage, infection, amputation or even brain injury. The lead surgeon paused before making the first incision into Warwick's arm. "He asked if I was ready," remembers

Warwick, now 56. "Of course I was. I had never been so excited. When they got in, the surgeons grabbed hold of my nerves, and it felt like my hand was being electrocuted. The pain was brilliant!"

was intended to do, picking up neural action potentials—the signals sent from the cortex when a person thinks of moving a limb but does not actually do it. That allowed Warwick to uset houghts to control an electric wheelchair and, through an Internet connection, an artificial hand back in hislab in Reading. Six weeks after Warwick was wired up, his brain learned to interpret signals sent back from the chip too; when an improvised sonar device was connected to the implant, Warwick could sense how far away an object was from his armeyen while he was blindfolded. Warwick's work may be cutting edge, but his method is as old as science itself. In popular culture, self-experimenters are portrayed as mad scientists attempt ing to turn themselves into superhuman villains; in real life, their contribution to scientific progress is Immense. Selfexperimenters have won Nobel Prizes and helped control diseases.

For centuries, self-experimentation was an accepted form of science. Sir Isaac Newton almost burned his cornea because he could think of no other means of understanding visual hallucinations than staring at the sun. But in recent years, the academic institutions, grant agencies and journals that have codified the scientific method have come to view self-experimentation with suspicion, worrying that it leads to bias or misleading results. Nevertheless, the practice continues among a small number of professors and doctors who see it as the last chance



simply as an avenue to fame. Self-experimentation has also found new life on the Internet. So-called selftracking has already made lay scientists of many of us as we buy the latest exercise device or nutritional supplement and then log into forums to compare our findings with other investigators. What the practice lacks in rigor, it makes up for in zeal, not to mention the sheer number of subjects running their mini-studies. Somewhere in there, real-if ad hoc-science might occur. "To me, |self-tracking| is the future of self-experimentation," says Seth Roberts, a professor of psychology at Tsinghua University in China, whose work led to the quirky best-selling diet book The Shangri-La Diet. The practice will continue among "normal people who are simply intent on discovering what works for them."

#### **A Rich Tradition**

WARWICK IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF PEOPLE who choose to experiment on themselves. His first motivation was, he admits, selfish: "Pure scientific adrenalism," he says. "The desire to follow my heroes." At the same time, he understood the risks involved and fell that:"If we were going to fry someone's nervous system, I'd rather it be my own."

Those two seemingly opposing motivations-self-promotion and altruismhave long driven the practice. U.S. Army physician Walter Reed and his three junior doctors, James Carroll, Aristides Agramonte and lesse Lazear, are probably the most mythologized self-experimenters in U.S. history for their efforts to uncover the cause of the vellow-fever outbreak that ravaged troops during the Spanish-American War, Building on the work of another physician, Stubbins Ffirth, who drank the blackened vomit of yellowfever survivors to prove that the disease was not contagious, Reed's doctors set out to prove that an insect bite, rather than person-to-person transmission, was how the virus spread. On a field trip to Cuba, the trio allowed mosquitoes to feast on their bodies. Carroll later wrote that the experiments went ahead because each of the doctors was "willing to take a soldier's chance." Lazear died during the experiment, and Carroll suffered long-term complications that led to his death at 53.

To some supporters of experimenting on oneself, such selflessness should underpin all scientific inquiry. Lawrence Altman, a physician and medical journalist, argues in his book Who Goes First? that researchers should take part in every medical trial—even if it is a large study—to avoid charges of elitism. "No man's life is worth more than anothers," he writes. Other proponents go further, arguing that trying thingsout by oneself cuts costs and speeds development. "If you succeed with yourself, then you can go on to larger trials," says Allen Neuringer, a psychology professor at Reed College in Oregon.

That's exactly what happened for David Pritchard, an immunologist at the University of Nottingham in Britain who was studying autoimmune disorders such as multiple sclerosis and severe allergies. From his work as a young man in Papua New Guinea, Pritchard was struck by the near total absence of such conditions in the developing world. That led him to become a proponent of the hygiene hypothesis, the idea that by successfully scrubbing out the bacteria and parasites that human bodies have evolved to battle, people in rich nations have inadvertently thrown their immune systems out of balance. That can sometimes cause the immune system to attack the body. Studies in mice suggested that infestation with hookworms can suppress autoimmune disorders. By 2004, Pritchard hoped to test whether something similar happened in humans, and there was only one way to start: by allowing a batch of worms to nest in his intestines.

The first step was to determine what would be a safe dose of hookworms for an adult. In small numbers, the parasite does not cause symptoms, but severe infestations kill 65,000 people a year and sicken hundreds of thousands more. Pritchard and his assistants randomly assigned various dosage levels to each team member. and each self-infected with the amount they drew. They learned that 10 hookworms was the upper limit for safety. Pritchard, unfortunately, was assigned a dose of 50 and spent five days in agony before receiving medical treatment. Nonetheless, the study helped secure approval and funding for a larger trial, which is ongoing, on patients with multiple sclerosis.

Pritchard's work had the support of his university, but many scientists turn to self experimentation out of frustration. In 1982, Barry Marshall, an Australian gastroenterologist, became exaperated by his inability to convince the medical community that the common bacteria Helicobacter pylori, rather than stress, causes stomach ulcers, so hes swallowed beaker of the stuff. He developed severe colitis a few days later, but his theory gained acceptance. In 2005 he was award ed a Nobel Prize for his work.

For every scientist thinking of following Marshall's lead, it's worth remembering that not all roads lead to Stockholm. In 2009, Yolanda Cox, a 22-year-old pharmaceutical researcher, died after she and her physician sister injected her with an experimental drug in search of a way to slow the agine process.

Today's lengthy ethical approval proto colis designed to prevent such disasters, but Warwick admits that no process is alisade. "So many people raise so many concerns that you have to put the blinkerson at a certain point and just go forit," he says. One of Warwick's Students, Ian Harrison, did just that. He had small magnets implanted in his fingertips in 2009, A Sonar device similar to the one Warwick sued was then at tached to an electromagnetic coil that made the magnets vibrate depending on an object's distance from Harrison's hand—an experiment with obvious implications for assisting the blind. To implant the magnets,





Harrison hired a body-modification artist in Britain who specializes in decorative scarification. Harrison has grown attached to the magnets and has yet to take them out, a delay that almost certainly would not have been allowed if a paid member of the public had been used for the experiment. "My friends think it's really cool," he says.

#### **Going Viral**

COD. IS AS GOOD A DESCRIPTION AS ANY for the Quantified Self phenomenon, grass-roots movemen brought together by the Internet. The guru of the field is Rob erts of Tisinghua University, As a graduate student in the 1970s, he decided that the best way to improve as an experimentalist was to run multiple simultaneous trials on himself. In the past 30 years, he has attacked his sleeping patterns, his response to acne remedies, the effect of his diet on his metal arithmetic and much more.

Roberts argues that tracking allows him to tinker with dozens of studies in a year or two, something that can yield real data—even if it's at the expense of glory. 'People raise so many concerns [about self-experiments], you have to put the blinkers on at a certain point.'

- KEVIN WARWICK, PROFESSOR

"Some self-experimenters are spared the stigma of their research being cheap and straightforward because it is noble," he says, "But my work wasn't noble at all."

Still, don't underestimate selfishness. Roberts points to Richard Bernstein, an engineer with diabetes who in 1960 developed a tool forglucose self monitoring that led him to discover that many small, self regulated doses of insulin spread over the day maintained better blood-sugar levels than one large daily dose. As more people begin to document their self-help projects, their combined efforts could yield other such impressive breakthroughs.

Denis Harscoat, co-organizer of the Quantified Self group in London, agrees. Workers are more productive if they complete regular, small tasks rather than an occasional large project; the same is true of do it yourself science, he says. At the meet ings Harscoat convenes, members discuss everything from monitoring their blood pressure to which behaviors best facilitate writing a play. "You might think we are a bunch of data crunching geeks," he says, "but if sgood to track."

And Irack the Quantified Selfers do, often aided by new products designed for them: Zeo headbands, said to monitor sleep phases. Nike plus, shoes with a distance, speed and time sensor embedded in them. Asthmapolis, which records the location, time and date of each breath so asthmatics can monitor their attacks. Every bit of data is shared in meetings so it can be considered in the aggregated in the act and be considered in the aggregated.

At some point, to be sure, quantifying leads to overload—to paralysis by analysis. Harscoat says meetings can turn into confessionals for those who have lost touch with reality. "We tell people not to track more than two or three things," he says.

That may help, but self-experimentation undoubtedly attracts oddballs and obsessives. Warwick, for example, says his next planned experiment may involve implant ing electrodes deep into his brain. That procedure scares even him: he plans to wait until he's 60 because he isn't ready to say goodbye to his wife and family. Still, he says, the experiment "will be fascinating, whatever happens."

That is what draws those who experiment on themselves to the edge—a restless curiosity coupled with the possibility of doing real good. We should be grateful that there have been such folks in the past and hopeful that there will be some in the future. Just not too many, and not all at once, please.



A guide to what is at the heart of good eating habits. Here are a few of the key facts and stats you need to know.

ARENTS OF TEENAGERS know their kids' eating habits by heart: pizza, burgers, fries, snacks, repeat. They also know it's hard to get them to change. But now they've got lots of fresh ammunition. Researchers at Emory University in Atlanta recently discovered a striking correlation between high amounts of added sugars and heart disease in teenagers. Trouble is, while the American Heart Association (AHA) already urges children and adolescents to get no more than 100 calories a day from added sugars, another recent study shows they're getting nearly five times that amount,

The U.S. Department of Agriculture weighed in to the fray on Jan. 31, introducing new dietary guidelines that call for a sharp cutback in salt, a doubling of the recommended amount of fruit, vegetables and fish, and making water the drink of choice. Corporate America is getting on the bandwagon, too. "According to the AHA, the risk factors for heart disease can appear as early as age 9," says Marianne O'Shea, director of global nutrition at PeosiCo. "We are on a mission to help Americans understand that you are never too young to start taking care of your heart."

It's easy to understand the focus on nutrition: Cardiovascular disease, including heart attacks and strokes, is the leading cause of death in the U.S. Preventive health experts have long been calling for Americans to eat less sodium and red meat, and to boost their intake of fruits, nuts and vegetables, fatty fish, and oatmeal and other high-fiber foods—a list that dovetails with the Mayo Clinic's endorsement of the Mediterranean diet, which features fruits and vegetables,

legumes, fish, whole grains, nuts and olive oil.

But at the end of the day, the type of diet followed counts less than the number of calories consumed. That was the result of a breakthrough two-year clinical trial conducted by Dr. Frank M. Sacks at the Harvard School of Public Health. "It's not so important whether people eat higher carbohydrates or higher protein or lower carbohydrates or lower protein," Sacks reported, "What really matters is how much people eat."

Teenagers, of course, are tomorrow's adults, and they will remain at risk unless healthier foods and beverages, plus more exercise, become part of their routines, And while schools have begun to substitute water and fresh juices for sugaradded drinks, real change will only occur when parents pay close attention not only to their own diets but also to the diets and lifestyles of their families.

"Healthy diets and lifestyle habits are important for adults, but it's important that we get the message to our youth because these habits extend into adulthood," says Dr. Erin Michos, an assistant professor of medicine in the cardiovascular department at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, "It's clear that risk factors track throughout lifetimes. And these factors don't get better in adulthood-they tend to get worse."

Michos believes that children born after 2000 have # 30% chance of developing diabetes over their lifetime due to a lack of physical activity and bad diets. Fortunately, there are ways to turn the tide. Michos asks patients to keep a daily food diary and suggests changes and substitutions. "I tell my female patients, especially, that they're the gatekeepers of their families' health. It's important to set a good example. When they start eating better, their spouses and children start eating better, too." #





3 grams of soluble fiber daily from oatmeal, in a diet low in saturated fat and cholesterol, may reduce the risk of heart disease. Standard oatmeal has 2 grams and Instant has 1 gram per serving.

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# BUSINESS SUSTAINABILITY INC. **Nuclear Batteries**. Crowdfunded Record label MMC Tiny atomic reactors have energized the nuclear industry Can they help save the planet

UCLEAR-FOWERED CASE! AIRplanes! Fridges and freezers!
In the heady days of the early
1950s—at the dawn of the civilian nuclear power age and
President Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace
program—nuclear optimists imagined a
world powered by tiny nuclear reactors.
Today, in an era of climate change and
energy insecurity, the nuclear industry is
dusting off some of those old dreams. That
includes the nuclear battery.

Designed by the Los Alamos National Laboratory spin-off Hyperion Power Generation Inc., the nuclear battery-so called because it is cheap, small and easily transportable-is about the size of a refrigerator, compared with a 50-ft,-tall traditional reactor. It produces 25 megawatts of electricity-approximately a fortieth the output of a large atomic power-plant reactor. While not quite compact enough for cars, the battery, known as the Hyperion Power Module, has been designed to power subdivisions or towns with fewer than 20,000 homes, as well as military bases, mining operations, desalination plants and even commercial ships, including cruise liners.

"Think of us as the iPhone of nuclear reactors," Hyperion Power's tanned and enthusiastic Denver-based CEO, John "Grizz" Deal, says. "Our technology is a game changer. There are so many exciting applications."

Some high-powered energy experts share that excitement. In a recent editoria, Energy Secretary Steven Chu endorsed so-called small modular reactors—a category that includes the Hyperion Power Module as well as models by NuScale Power, Toshiba, Westinghouse, Baboock & Wilkox and others—calling them "the new nuclear option." It is not an option endorsed by some environmental groups, which are concerned that nuclear batteries will only spur nuclear proliferation, increase nuclear waste and be vulnerable to terrorism.

The upside of small nukes lies in cutting not only greenhouse gases (nuclear power produces little to nothing in the way of emissions) but also costs. Chu pointed out that small reactors like the ones buil by Hyperion are sold as ready-made, turnkey devices, which will likely keep construction costs down. Hyperion estimates it will take so comilion to build and 3 gemployees to run one of its plants, compared with the 4s billion to so billion in capital needed to build a traditional plant and the roughly soo people needed to run one. Small reactors appeal particularly to the developing would because the yare a microRisk and Reward.

U.N. climate scientists recommend using nuclear power to reduce greenhousegas emissions

Percentage of the world's electricity produced by nuclear power plants

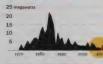
2 billion
Metric tons of
CO<sub>2</sub> emitted by fossilfuel-burning plants
to generate the
same amount

of electricity

That's three years' worth of carbon dloxide from all passenger cars in the U.S.



Demand for nuclear power tanked but is rising



SOURCES NUCLEAR ENERGY INSTITUTE: WORLD NUCLEAR

grid solution. Many poorer countries lack the robust electrical grids needed to handle the massive output of a large nuclear power plant. According to Deal, of the 19 output by Phyperion says it hopes to sell in the near future, ower a hundred will be outside the USB—as far afield as Kenya, Cambodia and Saudi Arabia. The company is still raising funds and has yet to receive permission to build any reactors, but Deal says a combination of political support and economics means Hyperion will break ground on the first projects within the next few years.

Such enthusiasm has been a long time coming. Nuclear power grew 750% in the 1970s (helped along by an oil-price spike) and 140% in the 1980s, but after highprofile accidents at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania in 1979 and Chernobyl in 1986, it increased only 8% in the 1990s. Still, government officials, corporate types and many green activists acknowledge that atomic energy can play an important role in combatting global warming. Today nuclear power plants operating in more than 30 countries produce 15% of the world's electricity. If that energy came from burning fossil fuels, it would result in more than 2 billion metric tons of carbon dioxide emissions each year, about 20% of all the emissions from power generation. In the U.S., the greenhouse-gas savings from nuclear-generated electricity are almost equal to the total emissions released by the country's passenger cars. "To meet our growing energy needs and prevent the worst consequences of climate change, we'll need to increase our supply of nuclear power. It's that simple," President Barack Obama said last year.

The problem with that sentiment, some environmentalists say, is that a lot can go wrong with nuclear power. Aside from fears of another Chernobyl and the high costs of traditional plants, there is the nuclear waste associated with splitting uranium atoms. It remains adioactive for thousands of years and requires deep burial, which most communities are understandably reluctant to accept. But that's another selling point for nuclear batteries—they produce only about a fortieth of the toxic waste of traditional plants.

The Department of Energy would like to see small reactors filling niches in the energy market in the U.S., powering sub divisions, hospitals, universities, military facilities and other self-contained sites. Industry Jobby groups like the Nuclear Energy Institute have bigger plans, however, suggesting that smaller reactors powered



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and wastewater treatment technologies are helping municipalities big and small improve the health of their waterways. Somewhere in America, our team of more than 60,000 employees spends every day creating answers that will last for years to come.

Despite government support, the U.S.'s current regulatory process means that it will likely be many years before Hyperion constructs its first commercial reactor on U.S. soil. (A demonstration model for potential buyers will be built first at a government lab in South Carolina.) So far, the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission has not granted a license for the nuclear battery or any other small reactor as it works its way through a bottleneck of applications for new traditional plants. As a result, Hyperion says, its first power plants will probably be built outside the U.S. sometime in the next few years.

The nuclear battery is so small, it can be transported in the back of a truck. It is that ease of transport that spooks Greenpeace International, which last year spoke out against Hyperion and said the batteries would be particularly vulnerable to terrorsits who might want to cause a meltdown.

Deal insists that not even a rocketpropelled grenade could damage nuclear batteries, because they will be shielded by a heavy layer of concrete and buried underground. Antinuclear campaigners counter that the modules will be vulnerable during transport, and of course, if the battery is powering ships, such protections would not be possible. Already, a small-reactor design by Russian state nuclear energy giant Rosatom for a seagoing, towable power station has led to a flurry of protests by green campaigners who accuse Russia of build-

ing "floating Chernobyls." Nuclear-battery proponents say any such risk is outweighed by the prospect that the minireactors could help offset a bigger threat: nuclear war. Arms-control experts worry that the large number of developing countries expressing interest in nuclear technology portends a nuclear arms race; the countries themselves argue that they, like rich countries, need nuclear power to deal with issues of energy security and sustainability. Hyperion Power says its small reactor can help prevent nuclear proliferation by obviating the need for countries to enrich uranium or reprocess plutonium-both processes that create material for bombs. As part of its turnkey design, the company promises clients that it will handle the entire fuel cycle-it will provide enriched uranium and arrange for the spent fuel (which includes small

#### 'Think of us as the iPhone of nuclear reactors. There are many exciting applications.'

-JOHN DEAL, CEO, HYPERION POWER GENERATION

amounts of plutonium) to be collected and sold, although it admits it is still negotiating with the handful of countries that have commercial reprocessing operations for used fuel. What's more, the company says it will remotely monitor the reactor cores of its nuclear batteries and will therefore be aware of any attempt to steal or divert uranium or plutonium. "The State Department loves us," Deal recently told an energy conference in London. "We can provide a test-if you are serious about peaceful nuclear technology and you don't have weapons ambitions, then prove it by letting us take care of your fuel."

Despite all the controversy, nuclear batteries have some high-profile supporters in the NGO and academic communities. In testimony last year before Congress, Charles Ferguson, president of the Federation of American Scientists, an arms-control think tank, said Congress should urge the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to speed approval for the Hyperion Power Module and other U.S.-designed small reactors, in part because they are much more proliferation-resistant than those being designed overseas. And globally, political support seems to be swinging in nuclear energy's favor. Sweden recently joined a growing list of countries whose parliaments have overturned moratoriums on new power plants.

torums on new power plants.

While the industry will always be vulnerable to shifts in public opinion, there is growing interest in Jesonseague applications for a minireactor, from nuclear cruise ships ("Holy cow, do you know how cheap they would be to run?" says Deal) to desailnation plants in conflict areas ("World War III is going to be fought over water. It's a huge issue, and we can help"). The interest is symptomatic of a vision that has been largely dormant in the U.S. since the early days of the nuclear era: the view that atom splitting can be a source of wonder and excitement rather than dread

The nuclear evangelist Hyperion's CEO, John Deal, envisages reactors everywhere from cruise ships to military bases





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# **I'm with the Band.** MMC invites fans to invest in its artists in exchange for a record and a piece of the profits

BY THOMAS K. GROSE

LL POP ARTISTS LIKE TO SAY they're indebted to their fans. But in the case of British band Some Velvet Morning, its literally true. The trio is currently recording songs because 35 fans ponied up the £100,000 (\$160,000) needed to pay for the project. The arrangement came via My Major Company (MMC), an online record label that uses Web-based, social-network-style "crowdfunding" to finance its acts. While the firm has just started in the U.K., it's already huge and quite profitable in France, where it has 116,000 registered users and 3a funded acts.

Here's how it works: MMC posts demos and videos of 10 artists on its website, and users are invited to invest anvwhere from £10 to £1,000 (\$16 to \$1,600) in the ones they most enjoy or think are most likely to score a hit. Once an act reaches £100,000, the financing is locked in, and the money is used to pay for recording and possibly a tour. Net revenue from resulting music sales, concerts and merchandise is split three ways: investors get to divide 40%; another 40% goes to MMC; the artist pockets 20%. Some Velvet Morning hit the jackpot in a mere seven weeks; label mate Ivyrise, an indierock band, reached the magic number in just four days. MMC's other eight actswhose styles range from soul to pop to folk-each have a six-month window in which to secure funding. The payoff for investors can be big. One fan in France who contributed \$6,850 got his money back 22 times over.

Crowdfunding musical acts is not new. But MMC takes the concept to another level. First of all, investors can get cash rather than just goodies like free downloads or tickets. Also, MMC is a label. It has the

wherewithal to get its music distributed and to market artists effectively. In France, for instance, MMC. has licensed Warner Music to distribute its recordings. "Artists need professional support," says Paul René. Albertini, CEO of MMC's international division and a former top honch at Warner Music. While digital technology and the Net have spawned a doit tyourself boom among musicians, success is still a long shot—with the exception of the occasional artist who scores a hit on the back of a viral homemade video. Out of the 20,000 records released in the U.S. in 2009, only 14 DIY acts cracked the Fion 200.

Also, with revenue from recorded music in a free fall, music companies have become more risk averse, funding fewer acts. The crowdfunding model allows for more records to be made by spreading risk among hundreds of backers. And the social-network aspect of the site helps expand fan bases. "Investors become a promotional army with a vested interest," says Albertine.

says Albertini.

A successful rollout in the U.K., the world's second largest exporter of music repertoire, after the U.S., will give MMC a strong platform from which to launch planned expansions into Germany. Spain and Latin America later this year. It also wants to enter the U.S. in 2012, initially targeting the Latin music audience, which Albertini calls a "good testing ground for such a very large market."

Some Velvet Morning's guitarist and singer, Des Lambert, 31, admits that having financial backing from fans gives the band extra incentive to succeed. "These are people who have invested in you, not some faceless corporation." And no act wants to give its fansthesharehold





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## **Pop Chart**





#### GOOD WEEK /

Bill Murray The Caddyshack star was

victorious at the Pebble Beach National Pro-Am golf tourney

Tiger Woods
The stumbling PGA pro
was fined after spitting
on the green during
the final round of the
Dubai Desert Classic



BARKING BEAUTIFUL Six new breeds debuted at the 135th annual Westminster Kennel Club Dog Show: the Boykin spaniel, bluetick coonhound, redbone coonhound, cane corso, Leonberger and Icelandic sheepdog. But a Scottish deerhound took home Best in Show



#### Slim Cola

Diet soda got a Fashion Week makeover when Pepsi unveiled a svoite can at the New York City event. Though the cola company calls it a "celebration" of "confident women," scarily skinny soda doesn't seem to libe with high

self-esteem.

## Ghosting Fr

Julian Assange's memoir is bound to be a best seller: now there's a good chance it might also be well written, Scottish novelist Andrew O'Hagan has been tapped to help the WikiLeaks founder write his book. Celebs have long used ghostwriters, but choosing a literary type like O'Hagan is less common. Still, O'Hagan is no stranger to channeling others. His last novel was

written in the

voice of a terrier.

#### CELEBRITY

#### Friends in High Places

They never really went away. But after years of so-so work, five-sixths of the former Friends finally seem to be getting their mojo back.

LISA KUDROW The Comeback

Comeback
P.S. I Love You
Web
Therapy

COURTENEY COX Dirt Cougar Town Derailed • Rumor Has It ...

Friends with Money • The Break-Up Marley & Me • Love Happens
The Bounty Hunter • The Switch Just Go with II

SCHWIMMER Madagascar Madagascar 2 VERBATIM

'Stay off the crack. Drink chocolate milk. Enjoy every moment. That's all I got.'

charlie Sheen, offering some practical advice to the UCI A baseball team. Sheen's substance abuse problems have led his show. Two and a Hall Men, to go on histus.

## Rallying for RoboCop

in the 1987 dystopian sci-fi flick RoboCop, the title character protected a crime-ridden Detroit. Appropriately, the city is now rallying to his defense. When **Detroit Mayor Dave Bing politely** declined a request via Twitter that the city erect a statue of the mechanized hero, he set off a minor internet storm. As of Feb. 16, a website set up to raise money for the statue had surpassed its funding goal of \$50,000 in pledges toward a plan to house RoboCop on a parcel of private land in a city park. Bing seems to have softened his position: a spokesperson said the mayor's office would consider erecting donated "public art." As for the person whose tweet started the whole affair, he later said it was only a joke.











#### MEME ALERT Hipster Ariel

This mermaid definitely does not want to be part of your world. When design student Braden Graeber Photoshopped a pair of Ray-Ban glasses onto a still of an anguished Ariel from The Little Mermaid, he tapped into a latent hipster nostalgia for Disney films. The image took off online as people added text that combined memorable quotes from the film with snarky commentary on contemporary life. Within days, Little Hipster Mermaid had a Facebook page and a Twitter feed. Not

bad for a girl who

lives under the sea.

#### Of Maids and Men

They faxed their save-thedate, but to announce who would stand by their sides when they say "I do" on April 29, Prince William and Kate Middleton took to Twitter "Miss Catherine Middleton has asked her sister, Miss Philippa Middleton, to be her Maid of Honour," read one tweet from Clarence House, the Prince of Wales' official feed. William has enlisted his brother Harry as best man. Filling out the bridal party is a gaggle of royal youngsters, including 3-year-old Eliza Lopes, granddaughter of Camilla Parker-Bowles. No word yet on how frilly the frocks will be



#### MUSIC

#### Radiohead: Pay for Our Album

Even the most ardent Radiohead fans were surprised by the British rock group's Feb. 1.3 announcement that it would release a new album online five days inter. Equally surprising; the band ditched the successful pay-what-you-want method that it used for its 2007 release in Rainbows, choosing instead to go with the traditional pay-what-we-want model, to go with the traditional pay-what-we-want model, the supprised of the payment of the supprised of the supprised



#### Stylish or Stifling?

Intended as a tribute to former flames. Levi's new Ex-Levi's new Exflittifiend skinny jeans for men raise the question, Did the ex-boyfriend T-shirt really need a male equivalent?



#### Gaga for Food Fashion

In September, she wore a meat dress. At the Grammys, she emerged from a giant translucent egg. Since Lady Gaga seems determined to be an icon of culinary couture, we suggest a few more outfits to help the pop star cover all the food groups.



1. Getting a mild form of Legionnaires' disease, since you

2. F. Scott Fitzgerald's legacy, since someone

an 8-bit video game of
The Great Gatsby

3. Donald Trump

3. Donald Trump running for President, since he has a history o toying with the idea

4. Being unable to watch cinema classics, since the Criterion Collection and Hulu have just joined forces

5. Having to mock the Pacific Northwest alone, since IFC's Portlandia has been renewed

# Enter the King. An audience with Colin Firth—actor, activist, chatterbox

By Catherine Mayer/London

Man of Action A brief history of Firth's stoic, silent repertoire



1995 A perfect union of Firth's dark intensity a posh delivery



BRIDGET JONES'S DIARY, 2001 As a modern Darcy in the Austen updat Firth plays hard to get



A SINGLE MAN, 2009 Firth gives a master class in stifled grief but misses the Oscar

THERE'S NOTHING COLIN FIRTH LIKES MORE THAN to talk. "I talk endlessly," he says during a lunch that comfortably proves the point. Helena Bonham Carter, his co-star in *The King's Speech*, has remarked, "The only reason I knew when we'd started filming is because he stopped talking."

Yet Firth's best work-and there's much to admire among his 66 screen roles over 27 years-hinges on the drama of things left unsaid. Firth has given three turns as the taciturn Mr. Darcy: first in the BBC's 1995 dramatization of Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice and later as Darcy's comic alter ego in Bridget Jones's Diary and Bridget Jones: The Edge of Reason. He missed out on the Best Actor Oscar last year for A Single Man, in which he played a quietly grieving professor. Now he's tipped to win for his portrayal of the stammering George VI, a figure literally unable to give voice to his feelings. Like Samuel Beckett and Harold Pinter, Firth finds himself celebrated as much for his silences as for the words that punctuate them.

Blame it on his extraordinary face. He's not extraordinarily handsome, though at 50, Firth easily retains a square jawed plausibility as a romantic lead. Nor is he yet extraordinarily famous, though even before his latest clutch of awards he was nearing the degree of celebrity that simultaneously imprisons and empowers those who have it. His face, however, is exceptional in its ability to convey not only a broad palette of emotions but also the reflex, almost at a cellular level, to smother them. With wordless eloquence, Firth communicates the struggle between raw instinct and civilized restraint that defines a particular kind of Englishness.

And that is an irony that would torment many of the characters he plays. Like them, Firth is not what he seems to be. One wellspring of his talent is the outsider sensibility he brings to every part, including the most important of all: being Colin Firth.

#### **Putting On Accents**

THERE'S A CLUE IN THE WAY HE SPEAKS THE Queen's English, with a purity that is more often found among wealthy expatriates, their accents and vocabularies preserved in the aspic of distance. Playing Darcy-Austen's and Helen Fielding's-solidified public perceptions of Firth as an uptight toff. He'd long before tried the role on for size in his first movie. Another Country, set in an elite private school. Firth made his debut in London's West End in the play on which the film was based, as Guy Bennett, a defiantly gay schoolboy and, Firth says, "one of the most flamboyant characters I have ever seen onstage. If I had played him in the film, I probably would have been typecast very differently." Instead Rupert Everett, who played Bennett in the original production, reprised the role for the 1984 film, and Firth was cast as the repressed Tommy Judd.

The schoolboys of Another Country have been born to privilege. Audiences tend to assume that Firth was too. In fact, he spent formative years outside England—and as an outsider. "It's probably an identity I found for myself, this scalled ouintessential Englishman." he says.

Born in a small town in southern England in 1966, Firth soon found himself transplanted by his parents, both teachers raised in India as the children of missionaries. The family settled in Africa and then, after a spell back in the U.K., moved to Missouri. He was thrust into a St. Louisjunion high school at 2 and began to learn the chameleonlike skills that initially helped him blend in but would come to help him stand out.

Those skills came in handy at the English



mates were "overwhelmingly working class," he says. "I wouldn't have survived in that school if I was well spoken." He demonstrates the rustic-sounding burr that provided protective coloring. His current voice solidified at drama school and, with it, the beginning of assumptions about his Englishness. "It's amazing how the stereotype persists. The likes of me have something to do with it," he says ruefully. "But when I hear people talking about a typical Englishman, I wonder why they completely ignore Sid Vicious or John Lennon, who were far more flattering to the self-image of the boys I knew growing up. We pierced our ears and learned guitar. That's what we aspired to. We didn't think, We'll grow up and put on a pin-striped suit."

"It's people a tiny bit from the outside, who aren't completely easy in their English skin, who then communicate the unease of English people so brilliantly," says Richard Curtis, who co-wrote both Bridget Jones movies. (Curtis, born in New Zealand and peripatetic in his youth, should know.) Despite their veneer of charm, Firthian romantic heroes, even comedic heroes, betray an inner darkness. "When we were filming Bridget, I was abroad, and they kept sending me the rushes. And I sent back a few messages saving, 'Can Colin twinkle a bit more?" says Curtis. "I thought his Darcy was a bit ferocious and unfriendly." The director passed along the note, Curtis recalls, "and then Colin looked directly down the camera and said, 'Someone tell Richard Curtis that is my f twinkle." Curtis concedes that his leading man got it right. "If he'd stopped being tough, he wouldn't have been left with a character."

Firth laughs when reminded of the incident. "It is the most lethal, deadly note," he says, unrepentant. "If there's one thing guaranteed to make you send out frozen vibes into the world, it's being told to twinkle."

#### **Inhabiting Outsiders**

TWINKLE IS TOO FEELL A VERE TO DEscribe the vibracy of Firth's company when he's talking about the things that interest him. Politics is one of his primary passions. Invited in December to guest edit BBC's flagship current affairs radio show, Today, Firth had the show commission a study that discovered differences in the brain architecture of liberals and conservatives." I wanted to find out what was biologically wrong with people who don't agree with me," he deadpanned. With success came a growing sense of responsibility. The thing is; if you have been given the privileges we have—if you have this many perks—surely you can help out." First hold the Time of London in 2007, explaining his backing for Eco Age, a green retailer and consultancy he helped found with his wife Livia Giugeioli, her brother and a family friend.

Giuggioli, a native of Italy, is the creative director of the business. A documentary maker, she was the driving force behind a polemical film. In Prison Mu Whole Life, about Mumia Abu Jamal, a former Black Panther and death-row inmate since 1082. Firth executive produced the film, and Marc Evans, who had worked with both Firth and Giuggioli, directed. Evans describes the couple as "naturally political, politically engaged," with a relaxed hospitality that mixes actors, public intellectuals and activists around their table for pasta lunches. (The couple have homes in London and Italy; their two sons were born in Rome.) More recently Firth spearheaded a British adaptation of the U.S. popular-history phenomenon The People Speak. The film came out last year and showcases, Firth says proudly, "dissenters, rebels and visionaries from British history"-the kinds of outsiders with whom Firth instinctively identifies.

One historical figure with whom Firth fell title kinship was the hapless George VI. He remembers that as he prepared to star in his dram as chool production of Hamlet, his acting coach advised him not to look to the Windsors for tips on how to play a royal. There's a stolidity, a niceness, to Britain's first family that is the antithesis of the Shakespearean idea of regality. Firth duly ignored them until he signed up to star in The Kink's Speech. Then,

'It's probably an identity I found for myself, this so-called quintessential Englishman.' with autodidactic fervor, he devoured histories of the period, developing an effection for its protagonists. The experience hasn't blunted his republican impulses. Pushed by Piers Morgan on his CNN talk show to reveal his views on the institution of monarchy, Firth said, "I really like voting. It's one of my favorite things."

That's a dangerous admission, since any celebrity who ventures criticism of the royals risks the ire of a far more powerful institution: Britain's notoriously abrasive tabloid press. Its columnists are liable to demand Firth's head the moment he's perceived as unpatriotic or too big for his boots. For the moment, Firth poses a grave problem for tabloid editors. Though his characters often lead double lives, he values his privacy but conceals little. "This [award] is all that stands between me and a Harley-Davidson." he said, accepting a Golden Globe last month. In reality, no midlife crisis threatens. "I'm rather enjoying aging," he says, and if he did get a motorbike, it would probably be a Moto Guzzi.

"My life is pretty boring from a photoopportunity point of view," he adds: "It would be very easy to catch me carrying a Sainsbury's bag." A few days later, the mass market Daily Mail publishes a photo of Firth on his bicycle under the headline THE KING'S SORKS. Sadly for Sainsbury's marketing team, the plastic bag suspenddef from Firth's handlebars bears the logo of a different store.

The question for afirthionados is what Firth will do with his increased star power. He's likely to use it to benefit causes close to his heart. But fame-or rather, the supercharged fame that has found him after decades of the common or garden variety-is unlikely to change his choices of movie projects. He's grounded by his family and has a track record of interspersing bigger roles and films with art-house movies and quirky cameos. His next film, a production of John le Carré's thriller Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy, is an ensemble piece; his part is "more than a cameo," he says, but definitely not a lead. Curtis says, "That lack of vanity, which means he risks things that are obscure, is also what makes him able to give such great performances, because he's not proud."

"I think the great joy for his friends is to see him enjoying this success with a sense of Colin, really," says Evans. "He's so Colin about it all. Which is to say he's so graceful and ironic and yet heartfelt at the same time." And never at a loss for words.



## **Tuned In**



## Color Correction. Why adjusting TV's racial balance is good for business By James Poniewozik

THERE'S NOTHING THAT LOOKS ESPECIALLY unusual about *The Game*. It's a sircom, with dramatic elements, about profootball players and their wives and girlfriends. There are misunderstandings and sex, lokes, and characters learn lessons about themselves, love and the limits of money and fame.

But a couple of things about The Game are unusual indeed. First, after the CW canceled the show, it was unexpectedly picked up by BET and opened its new season in January to 7,7 million viewers—an astonishing number for basic cable and more than triple what it was getting on its old network. Second, it has a mostly African-American cast, which on the big networks is almost as rare these days as The Game's dramatic return from the dead.

The first article I wrote for Time, in 1999, was about an NAACP protest over the blinding whiteness of prime time. Since then, TV shows with big ensembles, like Grey's Anatomy, Glee and Lost, have broadened their supporting casts to include multiple races and nationalities.

But decades after The Coshy Shou, the idea that it's hard for a series without a white star to reach an audience is entrenched. When minority actors I and leads—like Laurence Fishburne on CSI or Forest Whitaker on Criminal Minds. Suspect Behavior—they're teamed with white co-stars. Much maligned reality TV arguably does better-American Idol now has judges Randy Jackson (black), Jennifer Lopez (Latina) and Steven Tylef Creyt keeper).

While the WB and UPN were criticized back in 1999 for shunting black casts into "ghettos" of sitcoms on the same night, at least those shows existed. The two networks have since merged to become the CW, which has done away with African-American-cast sitcoms altogether. (Most of its scripted shows now are ensemble dramas with mostly white casts.)

The issue is not whether every TV show needs some perfect, artificial racia blance. It's whether TV, overall, treats white as the default setting for stories that call for characters of mostly one race—family comedies, for instance. Sitcoms are a means by which pop culture sets norms, establishes comfort and demystifies the other, as The Coshy Show's Huxtable family did. Granted, the mass audience then was bigger than today's). What if a show next season did the same for a family of Muslims or South Asian Americans (or, for that matter, white Evangelicals)?

Of course, TV is not a charily; no one can compel viewers to watch a sitcom for the betterment of society, But The Game's ratings suggest it's simply good business to invest in shows about people TV has jonced. Sure, BET (Black Entertainment Television) targets black viewers, but this series' subject matter—love, money, sports, fam—is pretty universal stuff.

If nothing else, this revival of a cast off sitcom has demonstrated that there is a real opportunity in showing characters that most of TV isn't. And that if you want to change the game, you've got to change the players.

#### **Broad Casting**



#### Like a lot of new

ensemble shows, the high school musical hits many different notes, with several white leads and also characters of various races, religions and sexualities



#### Outsourced

This new NBC comedy, set in an Indian call center, stakes out new territory with a largely Asian cast—though it focuses a lot on the culture clashes experienced by the lead character, a white guy from the Midwest



#### The Cleveland Show A rare big-network

comedy about an African-American family—albeit an animated one. The title character is voiced by a white actor



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## **Tuned In**



#### **Broad Casting**



Like a lot of new ensemble shows, the high school musical hits many different notes, with several white leads and also characters of various races, religions and sexualities

#### Color Correction, Why adjusting TV's racial balance is

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The title character is voiced by a white actor



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Humalog (insulin lispro injection (rDNA origin)) is for people with diabetes to control high blood sugar and should be used with a longer-acting insulin, except when used with sulfonylureas in people with type 2 diabetes.

#### Important safety information

Who should not take Humalog?

Humalog should not be used during episodes of low blood sugar (hypoglycemia) or if you are allergic to anything in Humalog.

Humalog is an injectable, fast-acting insulin. Humalog starts working faster than other insulins that contain regular human insulin. Take Humalog within 15 minutes before eating or right after eating a meal. Check your blood sugar levels as told by your healthcare professional.

#### How should I use Humalog?

If you have type 1 diabetes, you need to take a longer-acting insulin in addition to Humalog (except when using an external insulin pump). If you have type 2 diabetes, you may be taking diabetes pills and/or a longer-acting insulin in addition to Humalog.

The safety and effectiveness of Humalog in patients less than 3 years of age have not been established. There are no adequate and well-controlled clinical studies of the use of Humalog in pregnant or nursing women.

#### Low blood sugar

Low blood sugar is the most common adverse effect associated with insulins, including Humalog. Low blood sugar can happen suddenly, and symptoms may be different for each person and may change from time to time. Know your symptoms of low blood sugar. Severe low blood sugar can cause seizures and be life threatening. Follow your healthcare professional's instructions for treating low blood sugar. Talk to your healthcare professional if low blood sugar is a problem for you.

#### Other side effects

Other potential side effects associated with the use of insulins include: low blood potassium, weight gain, changes in fat tissue at the injection site, and allergic reactions. Allergic reactions can happen at the site of injection and over the whole body. Whole-body allergic reactions are less common, but may be life threatening.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.FDA.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

See Patient Information, including storage information, on following page. For complete instructions, see full user manual that comes with your pen.

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#### Patient Information

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#### Important

Know your insulin. Do not change the type of insulin you use unless told to do so by your healthcare provider. Your insulin dose and the time you take your dose can change with different types of insulin

Make sure you have the right type and strength of insulin prescribed for you.

Read the Patient Information that comes with Humalog before you start using it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your healthcare provider about your diabetes or treatment. Make sure that you know how to manage your diabetes. Ask your healthcare provider if you have guestions about managing What is Humalog?

Humalog is an injectable fast-acting man-made insulin. Humalog is used to control high

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  - . 10 mL vials (bottles) for use with a syringe or external insulin pump
  - . 3 mL vials (bottles) for use with a syringe or external insulin pump
- · 3 mL cartridges for use with a reusable pen or external insulin pump Who should not take Humalog?

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- · you are allergic to anything in Humalog. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of
- Tell your healthcare provider:
- . about all your medical conditions. Medical conditions can affect your insulin needs and
- · if you are pregnant or breastleeding. You and your healthcare provider should talk about the best way to manage your diabetes while you are pregnant or breastfeeding. Humalog
- the user way or intellige your unaceres within you are prepared to measuremain, multarally has not been studied in preparation or nursing women.

   about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Many medicines can affect your blood sugar levels and insulin needs. Your Humalog dose may need to change if you take other medicines.
- Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show to all of your

#### How should I use Humaiog?

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- If you have type 2 diabetes, you may be taking diabetes pills and/or a longer-acting insulin in addition to Humalog. Humalog starts working laster than other insulins that contain regular human insulin.

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- Inject Humalog within infeen minutes before eating or right after eating a meal.

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   -fluminació y vas tested with Minikhel<sup>eth</sup> Models 506, 507, and 36 insuim pumps using Minikhel Polytina<sup>51</sup> infusion sets: Humalog was also tested with the Disertonica<sup>50</sup> H-TROBlytina<sup>51</sup> infusion set
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- . Protect Humalog from extreme heat, cold or light
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- Cartridge and Prefilled Pens: Do not store a cartridge or prefilled pen that you are using
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- Use Humalog only to treat your diabetes. Do not share it with anyone else, even if they also have diabetes. It may harm then
- This leaflet summarized the most important information about Humalog. If you would like more information about Humalog or diabetes, talk with your healthcare provider. You can ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for information about Humalog that is written for health professionals
- For questions you may call 1-800-LillyRx (1-800-545-5979) or visit www.humalog.com. What are the ingredients in Humalog? Active inpredient; insulin lispro.
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## **Tech**



## Tweet Tweet! With dashboard apps, cars finally get Web-savvy By Harry McCracken

WE'VE BEEN LIVING IN THE AGE OF INTERNETenabled infotainment for more than a decade. But you sure can't tell that from the state of are electronics. Even now, the devices built into many dashboards remind me as much of the push-button cassette deck in my first car—an extremely used '82 Jetta—as they do an iPhone or any other 2st century gizmo.

Why hasn't the auto industry adopted the rapid-fire product cycles of the rest of the tech business? Because when you work in a field in which the word crash brings to mind human injury rather than balky software, you tend to err on the slow and methodical side.

There's reason for hope, though. In January more car manufacturers than ever showed up at the annual International Consumer Electronics Show, and they brought goodies with a refreshingly modern feel.

Audi, for instance, wasn't previewing some cheesy proprietary mapping application, instead, it will soon offer Google Earth in all its three dimensional glory. Toyota's Entune, due to arrive later this year, will run in-dashboard apps you can control by touch and sometimes by voice, including Bing's search engine as well as Openfable and MovieTickets.com (which means you can book dinner and a film while you're in transit).

Likewise, Ford's new AppLink feature (available first on the zorr Fiesta) lets creators of apps for Android, BlackBerry and iPhone handsets use the display and speech capabilities on its Sync infoatinment system, so drivers can keep their eyes on the road rather than futzing with their phones. Early apps include Pandora's personalized radio and DpenBeak, which uses Sync to read tweets out loud—though I'm nots use who would ever want that.

I recently test-drove a 2012 Ford Focus Titanium, an uncommonly well connected car equipped with Sync's fanciest incarnation. MyFord Touch. The system, available in some models as a soos option, includes an 8-in. (20 cm) color touchscreen, two USB ports and an SD slot that lets you stream your music collection from a memory card. The car reminded me of both a modern PC and Knight Rider's KITT. When I used potentially distracting features, its robotic voice gently admonished me to drive carefully. It's not without quirks: the speech-recognition feature thought I was asking for music by 50 Cent when I was really requesting Dusty Springfield, Still, Ford and its rivals have me guiltily trying to rationalize replacing the perfectly adequate car I own. It's a pleasure to step into a new automobile without feeling as if I'm traveling back in time.

#### Have Car, Will Connect



#### Ford The MyFord Touch

system, which was first offered in the 2011 Ford Edge, has multiple displays, including an 8-in. (20 cm) color touchscreen as well as two USB ports and an SD slot that lets you stream music from a memory card



#### Tovota

Like an app store for your car. Toyota Entune will offer In-dash versions bil Bing, Pandora and OpenTable. It will be available later this year in the 2012 Prüs v



#### Audi

Starting this summer, the Audi A8 and then other models will get an upgraded MMI system that integrates Google Earth into its navigation system

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## Money



Leaving Cell Hell. The U.S. is going to be tops in phone service. Really. What it means for users and investors by Bill Saporito

THE VOICE ON THE CELL PHONE BELLONG.

TO Chetan Sharma. He is speaking from New Delhi—although he lives in regog where he rule where he rule as telecom indicated in the subject of the su

This reset in the industry will present challenges to both cell phone customers and telecom investors, and it comes as a shock to those of us left furning—can you HEAR me?—at the state of wireless service in the U.S. The disconnect was underscored by a conversation with Tina Teng, a senior analyst for IHS iSuppli, a technology research firm in El Segundo, Calif. Teng too was discussing the impressive new 4G wireless technology currently being rolled out and now it would bolster call quality for usall. But during the chat, her voice dissolved into digital ground glass.

How did we get to be the Disunited States of Cell Phones? Through the beauty of deregulation (see a lso: airlines), we emerged not only with dueling standards (CDMA and GSM) but also with dozens of providers. Many became capital-constrained, leaving us with a patchwork network, at least until the industry consolidated.

Apple's iPhone changed the game, igniting an arms race between AT&T and Verizon. More bars in more places cost more money, and in the past trees years, Verizon and AT&T have each spent \$15 billion on their networks. The fight is moving to the next generation, 4G technology, and the pair will spend an additional \$15 billion or so this year.

This month, when Verizon launched its

\$64.20
Average revenue per user per month for an AT&T subscriber last year

version of the iPhone, tech journos raced around cities with both phones to compare coverage and awarded the best-reception crown—and advertising ammo—to Verizon. The iPhone has also been hugely important to ATST as it has made a transition from a landline company to a wireless and Web-backbone outfit. How important? The IPhone allowed ATST to rack up 6 million net new subscriptions and \$4.7 billion in sales intwo years.

In truth, all the yammering over call quality is just noise in the channel because data traffic, driven by video, will overtake voice this year, according to Cisco. That's because of the profusion of all those other data-sucking connected devices, such as lantops and tablet computers (like iPad).

This device-ification should be good news for the shareholders of Verizon and ATR'S, thut data doesn't earn the dollars that voice does—and voice revenue per subscription is falling. The carriers' challenge is to boost data revenue, which is why they're trying to herd us toward tiered data plans and away from today's all-you can earl pricing. Another issue is shat potential new revenue streams from these connected devices are heading to what the industry calls "off deck." The winners are companies that can capture revenue from advertising without sharrevenue from advertising without sharrevenue from advertising without sharring til, like Facebook and Groupon.

So the stocks of both Verizon and ATREsell at a discount to Apple, although their dividend yield is over 5%. Where along the mobile value chain is there opportunity? Cobby Spreased, a senior analyst with Cowen & Co., suggests the firms that own those eyesore cell towers, like American Tower, could outperform the service operators. So might data center firms that provide "back hau" when you Websurf on a phone.

The wireless ecosystem promises to be fluid—think of the seesawing fortunes of handset makers like Nokia. Any company that misses a beat "can be knocked out for a full cycle for three to four years," says Sharma. Look at companies that have global scale, he adds.

Cell-phone users will be the clear winners. The U.S. should be completely 4G by 2013. Until then, I'm just hoping my calls in Manhattan can rise to the quality of those in New Delhi.

## **Food**



## Land O' Fakes. Butter may be the darling of the food world, but margarine is thriving—at least in tubs by Josh Ozersky

WHEN I BIT INTO THE ROTI AT HAROLD Deterle's new restaurant, Kin Shop, in New York City, my taste buds lit upmargarine! Like a chubbier version of Marcel Proust. I was brought back to my youth and the phosphorescent yellow sticks of butter substitute! loved so. Dieterle, of Tap Chof Iame, says he includes Sake butter because he's never seen the dish made with the real stiff. "The West Indian guys always use margarine," he says. "It gives a nice flaky quality to the dough." I thought of margarine's distinctive butterscotch-like taste and how I missedit!

Whatever happened to the margarine of my childhood? As Americansclogged more of their arteries in the '665 and '705, it was hailed as a healthy alternative to butter—at a time when the evil most feared by heart-conscious, consumers was sturrated fat. Flash forward to 2011 butter and lard are the darlings of the food world, and trans fats—a.k.a. partially hydrogenated fats, the building blocks of traditional margarine—have been outlawed in restaurant kitchens in New York City and all of California (and are on the chopping block in 28 other states and the District of Columbia).

It would seem to the casual observer that butter left margarine for dead. In fact, there's a greater variety of margarine in the dairy aisle than ever before. Vegetable-oil-based substitutes—or buttery spreads, as they are called by manufacturers—collectively outsold butter almost 2 to 1 in grocery 
stores in 2010. (That divide may grow 
even wider next month, when I Can't 
Believe It's Not Butter gets a hilariously 
sultry new spokeswoman, Sex 
ultry new spokeswoman, Sex 
been purged of their murderously 
been purged of their murderously 
trans fats, now dominate the schmear 
ing and sautieing sectors.

But for the true margarine aficionado, something got lost in the butter-margarine shuffle. Margarine's once dominant stick form-which gets firmed up by hydrogenating the fat-has all but vanished, its fate sealed when the U.S. Food and Drug Administration decreed that by 2006 trans: fats had to be listed on the nutritionalinformation panel on all food products. Many health experts think trans fats are the baddest of all bad fatsessentially, cluster bombs dropped into your cardiovascular system. Without trans fats, no sticks, "Go into any major supermarket and look at the margarine and spread facings in the refrigerator case," says Richard Cristol, president of the National Association of Margarine Manufacturers. "You will likely see only a few stick packages—but many, many more tubs of buttery spreads.

Stick margarine's more wholesome successors have taken over its role as a saturated-fat substitute, but since many cooks feel buttery spreads don't brown well, industrial-grade food-service products, like the fearsome Lo Melt, are being used to grease up griddles in restaurants from coast to coast. With few allies in restaurants or at home, stick margarine is on its way to extinction. With it go those detestable trans fatsbut also a memento of the days when Americans reveled in the way this lowcost wartime substitute permeated airy white bread, forming an impossibly crisp surface on grilled-cheese sandwiches, enhancing toast with its King Midas-like effects and all the while thing good for our hearts and for our country. Nostalgia tastes so sweet, even when it's bad for you.

Photograph by Jamie Chung for TIME

## **Books**

History of a Suicide By Jill Bialosky Atna: 272 pages

> A Widow's Story By Joyce Carol Oates Ecco; 432 pages

#### Good Grief. The best memoirs of loss and tragedy teach us universal truths. The worst just teach us suffering By Mary Pols

AT WHAT FOINT DOES AN INDIVIDUAL'S grief move from the chase of misery to a vessel of wisdom worth passing along? In 1900, Ill Blaisoky's half sister kim committed suicide asphyxiating herself in the garage of the Cleveland house where they'd grown up. She was 21, beautiful and tenderhearted, and Bialosky was cleditor, brovells and poet, Bialosky took nearly 20 years to process this history into somethings he felt ready to publish. The result is her searing memoir, Mistory of Suicides Win Stater's Unfinished Life. In

of a Suicide: My Sister's Unfinished Life. In it, Bialosky serves as detective, analyzing police and autopsy reports, reading Kimis journals and developing a psychological profile of her. Pursued by the survivor's "fear of disgrace," Bialosky struggles to answer the unbearable question—Could Thave stopped her?—and to illuminate the brief life of her sister, a gift che rished by her mother and siblings but broken by her father's absence.

With Kim's story at its heart. History of a Suicide probe larger issues, like the possibility of a genetic susceptibility to such a genetic susceptibility to suicide, and examines the question of how any young person can really know he or she wants to die. In an age when youth suicide is spoken of as an epidemic, Biolosky's memori freels extraordinarily useful. Her language is plain ("Suicide should never happen to anyone. I want you to know as much as I know. This is the reason I am writing this book") but enveloping.

There is a remarkable lack of self-

There is a remarkable lack of sellpity in these pages, even as the author recounts more tragedy on the heels of Kim's death: her loss of two infants at birth. Her hand is always skillful and deliberate, as attentive to the rhythms of story telling as to conveying emotion. What did Kim write in the note she left behind? Bialosky withholds it until four pages from the end, a wise authorial decision that left me chagrined at my impatience to find out. To finally be privy to it is to be wrecked by the realization of this small, sweet life, lost too soon. "Each time I read it, I am still overcome." Bialosky writes. Me too.

THE CAREFUL, MATURE CRAFT OF Bialosky's memoir stands in stark contrast to Joyce Carol Oates' A Widow's Story, which arrives three years to the month after the death of her beloved husband of 47 years, Raymond Smith, at 77. Reeling from the loss, Joyce Smith-that is how she sees herself, not as the well-known author but as Ray's wife-falls apart, even contemplating suicide. The book reflects that: it is shockingly raw and messy, filled with weirdly exclamatory, heavily italicized writing and teeming with such fresh hysteria that one feels the urge to slip it a sedative. "I haven't been able to comprehend my experiences in any coherent way," Oates writes in early March, a month after Ray's death. In August, when the book ends, we still feel that incoherence. By then she had met a new man, to whom she is now married. The depth or length of someone's grief should never be judged-and few could begrudge Oates the joy of finding fresh love after 70-but for the reader, still caught in her depression, such a quick turnaround is jarring.

If only Oates had waited, if not on the writing then at least on the editing, Both memoirs are filled with truths of human suffering, but while Bialosky's offers a source of solace and understanding for the bereaved, Oates piles her grief onto the page and walks away—a reminder that sharing does not always mean giving.



## Nancy Gibbs



#### The Cost of Candor. Think it's easy to cut spending? Believe that and I've got a size 4 to sell you

M NOT REALLY A SIZE 4. I KNOW THIS because I was hardly a size 4 back when I was 15 and physically fit, and I'm neither of those now. But clothing stores know their customers, so they flatter us, supersizing their sizes until a 4 is as big as an 8 used to be, and we can all sleep better at night, confident that we're slimmer than we were in high school.

This is pretty much how our politics works now. We engage in magical thinking, imagining our problems are much smaller than they are, while our leaders hover nearby like helpful salespeople, telling us how good we look in our latest getup and that it's really not that expensive.

More than 7 in 10 Americans call the federal deficit a major problem that has to be addressed. Republican leaders go to lunch at the White House to explore with the President all the hard choices that lie ahead. They emerge as co-conspirators, talking of "common ground" and, as House majority leader Eric Cantor put it, "the need for all of us to work together to send a signal that we are serious about cutting spending." As opposed to actually being serious or actually cutting spending. Which is the sort of magical thinking needed by a party that promised a few months ago to cut \$100 billion but has been fudging that number ever since. Meanwhile, the President proposes a budget that addresses the deficit by adding only \$7 trillion over the next decade rather than \$8 trillion.

But why would a politician say what we seriously signal we do not want to hear? The same polls that track our deep concern about spending are also clear about what we'll give up: virtually nothing. In a recent Gallup poll, the only item a majority of people said they'd be willing to cut was foreign aid, which represents roughly 1% of the budget. Majorities oppose any cuts to antipoverty programs, entitlements

or education. So lawmakers open their session by reading the Constitution aloud without respecting the responsibilities it hands them-unless you count HR59, the Sunset All Czars Act, which bars funding for "any task force, council, policy office ... that is established by or at the direction of the President and the head of which is a Czar." Or HR569, to "end unemployment payments to jobless millionaires."

It is this pathetic pageant that inspires



retired truth tellers like Alan Simpson, lately of the President's deficit-reduction commission, to declare on Sunday morning TV that "if you hear a politician get up and say, 'I know we can get this done. We're going to get rid of all earmarks; all waste, fraud and abuse; all foreign aid; Air Force One; all congressional pensions,' that's just sparrow belch in the midst of the typhoon." Unless you start with the big four-Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security and defense-you will have no protection against the coming storm.

So how loud the thunder, how strong the winds, before we reward leaders who tell the truth? Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, who sang his nation a lullaby when he returned from Munich in 1938 and promised Britain "peace for our time," has an enduring reputation as a comforting coward. Winston Churchill, who stood before the House of Commons less than two years later offering nothing but "blood, toil, tears and sweat," claimed the mantle of greatness.

Americans too honor leaders who speak hard truths, if sometimes only in retrospect. But just as often, we punish candor. Walter Mondale thought he was doing the right thing in 1984 by announcing that if elected, he would raise taxes; he lost 49 states, and Ronald Reagan raised taxes 11 times. George H.W. Bush agreed to a budget deal that laid the groundwork for a decade of prosperity-for which Bill

Clinton got the credit, having bounced Bush from office.

In an emergency, people don't want to be soothed; they want to be saved. But bombs and fire concentrate the mind more than charts and graphs do. So what does that mean for American leaders facing epically dangerous deficits? It's tempting to see in New Jersey Governor Chris Christie a Churchill for our times. He is Governor Wrecking Ball, cutting teacher pay, reducing state-worker pensions and killing infrastructure projects. And

he's treated like a rock star.

But Christie is an anomaly. The odds of having an honest national conversation increase if the truth is actually what we want to hear, but every signal we send is "Keep selling us a size 4." Our contradictions have consequences. Believe that low taxes promote strong growth? Fine, but be prepared to devote some of the money you save to funding cancer research, paying for the music classes your school just canceled and taking care of the men and women who come home from the wars they fight to protect us.

If we punish politicians for honesty, we should not expect it. If we don't practice it ourselves, we won't recognize it.

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The New York City mayor is now serving his third term. Michael Bloomberg talks about money, guns and beer on the rocks



#### What lessons did you learn from the recent snowstorm that paralyzed New York City?

I'm sorry that it happened. Can we do it better? Yes. But we have done nine years of cleaning the snow. You don't define all the hard work that our sanitation department does based on one snowstorm.

#### Where will the economy be a year from now? Will the unemployment rate get better?

The economy will have improved, but it's not going to be better for everybody. The [gap] between the requirements of the workplace and the skill sets that our workforce has is growing, not declining.

#### Is there room for a candid, non-ideological big-city mayor to step onto the national stage and fix problems?

There's room for people like me to influence the dialogue, but I do not believe there is room for an independent candidate. In any case, I have 1,050 days from today left to go, and I've told the public I would fill out my term. I'm going to serve the four years.

#### I meant Rahm Emanuel.

He sent me an e-mail yester-day saying happy birthday. I wrote hack and said. "I assume you don't need any help, but if you do, call." This is going to be a differed he work well together. Much better than when he was in the White House and I was a wise ass who might run against his bos.

#### Have bankers gotten an unfair rap in the past few years?

rap in the past tew years?
Yes. They get a very unfair
rap. Not that they didn't speculate, but we had an expansion in this country that any
rational person should have
known was not sustainable.
You can't have everybody
making money in the stock
market every day. But we all
wanted the party to continue.
How lesle can you explain the

Bernie Madoff phenomenon?

#### dow do you evolain it then?

How do you explain it, then? Nobody cared. Everybody just thought. Where did Madoff get the idea? A cynic would say Social Security, [though] I would never say that. But it's exactly the same thing, isn't it? I also think people should have asked why he could outperform like that. There's no free lunch.

#### You've been outspoken lately on gun control. What are you trying to achieve?

Guns kill people. I'm not opposed to the Second Amendment. I'm not opposed to hunters. I don't understand why we have to sell magazines with 33 bullets. If it takes you 35 bullets to kill a deer, you're not a sportsman. And armorpiercing bullets—the last time I saw a deer with a bulletproof vest was a long time ago. Guns are one of the biggest killers in the country, and it's an easy problem to solve if we had the courage to do sol,

#### What can't the mayor of New York City say?

One of the measures of maturity of our city is that you can address social issues that are uncomfortable. It's just a matter of how you address them. Sometimes people will take offense. Sometimes they won't.

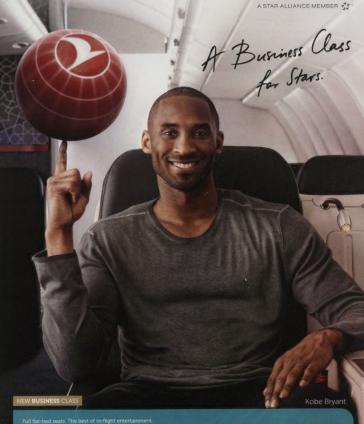
#### You have been made fun of recently for the way you drink beer. So, for the record, you like ice in your beer?

Yeah. Incidentally, don't put it in and let it sit there. You have the ice, pour in a little beer, drink it. Pour in a little beer, drink it.

#### Reader question: You've been so successful in business. What's the point of doing one of the all-time hard-to-pleaseeveryone jobs?

Gerardo Valero, MEXICO CITY Because it's an all-time hardto-please-everyone job. It's a great challenge, and it's the world I'm going to leave my kids. They will do a lot better if the world is better than if they inherit [all of] my money.





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